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NEW LIGHT ON THE EARLY OPRY: DR. BATE'S LETTERS

By Charles Wolfe
(Middle Tennessee State University, Murfreesboro)

Most people today are generally aware of the outlines of how country music radio developed in Nashville, and few would deny the importance of documenting as fully as possible the history of this development. After several years' research into the dawn of country music on Nashville radio, I have convinced myself that the well-known story of how Uncle Jimmy Thompson started the Grand Ole Opry is what Norman Mailer would call a "factoid": an untruth that is so symbolically appealing that people feel it should be a fact, even if it isn't. In my study *The Grand Old Opry: The Early Years: 1925-1935* I gave laurels to Dr. Humphrey Bate, a rural physician who played harmonica and led a string band called the Possum Hunters, for being the first artist to popularize old-time music on Nashville radio. The main reasoning behind this was the fact that WSM had a predecessor station in Nashville, WDAD. WDAD started broadcasting on 13 September 1925; WSM started on 5 October 1925. In my book, written in 1975, I commented: "Though no printed evidence has yet been discovered to prove that WDAD broadcast old-time music during this pre-WSM month, several Opry veterans. . . have stated that they first broadcast country music on 'Dad's.'" The weakness here, of course, is that these musicians could well have played on WDAD after WSM opened, but before they gained access to the more selective air time of WSM. While we could document the fact that Dr. Bate was probably the first to play old-time music on WSM, we had only circumstantial evidence about who played on WDAD prior to the WSM opening.

During my research on the early Opry book, one of my most impressive informants was Alcyone Bate Beasley, the daughter of Dr. Bate, who, as a child of thirteen, played with him on those historic early broadcasts. Mrs. Beasley kept wonderful archives of documents about her father, and those were of great help in assembling the history of his band. I kept in touch with Mrs. Beasley after my book came out, and in late 1976 she told me that an old friend of the family's had given her two letters that her father had written in the very earliest days of his broadcasting. She made these available, and they are transcribed here; they give an unparalleled insider's glimpse of the crucial month of September 1925, when WDAD was the only station in Nashville.

The first letter was sent to Dr. Bate from L. N. Smith, the owner of Dad's Auto Accessories

and Radio Supply House in downtown Nashville; Smith was popularly known as "Radio Dad" because of his interest in radio. The letter is dated 19 September, a Saturday, and refers to a broadcast made the night before, Friday, 18 September. Though nothing in the letter specifically states it, Dr. Bate in a later letter confirmed that this letter from Smith was written after his first broadcast for WDAD. This appearance was Dr. Bate's first for WDAD, and thus his first radio appearance in Nashville.

The second letter is one in Dr. Bate's own handwriting, and is addressed to Mrs. Ada Armstrong at Earlington, Kentucky; the postmark on the envelope shows that the letter was mailed from Castalian Springs (Dr. Bate's home, north of Nashville) on 29 September 1925. Ada Armstrong's father was Colonel W. A. Toombs, an old friend of Dr. Bate's and "the Colonel" in the letter. The first letter from L. N. Smith had been enclosed with Dr. Bate's letter for the Toombs family to read. It was Mrs. Ada Armstrong who preserved both letters and passed them on last year to Alcyone Bate Beasley. Personal references in the letter: "Ethel," who had a "round" with her heart, was Dr. Bate's wife; "Buster" was his son, who often played with one hand in the early 1930s.

A transcribed text of the Bate letter reads as follows:

Castalian Springs, Tenn. - Sept. 28th 1925
To the whole Toombs Tribe

Dear Friends:

How are you: and what has become of you? It seems that you all have dissolved into complete oblivion since the day you left here as not a word has been heard from you since, but since "no news is good news" I guess you are all-right--Ethel has had a "round" with her heart since you left, caused I guess by too much "Cafe Noir" - Coco-Cola, etc, but is better now - Buster returned home from Bans Infirmary at Nashville last Friday and is convalescing from an operation for appendicitis which he stood fine - His attack came like a bolt out of the blue and was a bad one and I had to get him away in a hurry. But so far I have never seen anyone do nicer and if

we can keep him quiet for a few days I think he will be O.K. Tell the Colonel that old man Bill Sanders had a severe Paralytic stroke last night and I very much fear that it will wind him up. My crowd is now playing for Radio Station WDAD (Dads) at Nashville. It is a rather weak station broadcasting on a wave length of 226 meters but should be easily gotten on any good night from your place. We are let to them temporarily by Station W.S.M. the big new station of the National Life Ins. Co. of Nashville who will open on the night of Oct 5th next. It broadcasts on a wave length of 280 meters and can be easily heard at Earlington in the daytime as well as night. We make our initial appearance there on the night of Saturday Oct. 24th next, playing from 10 to 11 pm. If we come in good I want to hear from you sure and will be looking for a message that night. We have made a big hit at WDAD and have gotten hundreds of messages from Nashville and nearly towns and a few from Ohio, Penn., Ill, and Indiana. Some of them are highly complimentary. One fellow wanted to know my dimensions. Others refuse to believe that I am playing a Harmonica and say it is a violin. Some a sax and some a clarinet. I am asked to play everything from Dvoraks Humoresque to "Yankee Doodle." I can't comply with one twentieth of these requests but play all that time allows. I sometimes by special request play a solo or two on the Harp but most of the time I play along with two Guitars - 2nd Violin with Miss Alcyone at the Chickering Grand (at the new station she will be at the Steinway Grand.) Then we double up in a Hawaiian Quartette and Miss Brigger plays the "Uke" Occasionally she obliges with a Piano solo - which may be something like "Tour la Cheval" whatever that may be, but more often "Yessir thats my Baby" or "Don't Bring Lulu" or "Yearning" or something on that order which always gets more applause from the "Rabble" than the Classical piece does. For the Colonels special edification please inform him that "the old Master's" shall not perish from the earth for awhile anyway as I have been asked by the new station (WSM) to specialize on some old time Fiddlin tunes and I will proceed on the night of 24th to render to the best of my ability a few of his old favorites and I hope that he will hear me and that if the music meets his approbation that he will let me hear from him--We have all about gotten over our stage fright as we have already played 3 or 4 tunes from Dads and have passed our

test and been accepted at W.S.M. and as it will be running smoothly by then I think if we are lucky enough to catch a night with little or no static that we will go over O.K. I am enclosing letter from Mr. Smith announcer at Dads written after our first appearance there. You will see how many pieces he called for. Well we played all that and as many request minutes and then had to play on for over half an hour longer, over an hour and a half. We are playing there every Friday night or rather have been and will be there again next Friday night from 8 till 9 or 9:30 but I may change our playing date with them after Friday night. Am not sure but may do so. Excuse all this about Radio but we are tickled over getting on and are trying hard to make good. Hope you all are well. Let us hear from you. Love to you all from The Bates

by H. B. (m.d.)

As far as the chronology of early Nashville radio is concerned, these letters establish that (a) Dr. Bate had indeed appeared on WDAD before WSM was even opened, having appeared "three or four times" between Sept. 18-28; and (b) that Dr. Bate had already been approached about appearing on WSM weeks before the station opened. In fact, Dr. Bate (who obviously considered WSM a more important station than WDAD) thought so strongly of his commitment to WSM that he asked permission of WSM to appear on WDAD. This letter also confirms the date of 24 October as Bate's first appearance on WSM; newspaper notices verify this. Note that the 24 October date is fully two weeks before George Hay arrived in Nashville, and nearly a month before the famous 28 November Uncle Jimmy Thompson broadcast. Yet--and this is one of the most curious things about the letter--Bate reports that he has been asked by the "new station" (WSM) to specialize in some old-time fiddle tunes. This supports my contention in

that WSM was making an effort to program old-time music well before George Hay even arrived on the scene.

But chronology aside, these letters also shed some important light on the nature of Dr. Bate's repertoire. He obviously did not consider himself an exclusively old-time musician--a point his daughter had already made. His fondness for light classics and his disdain for popular music of the day (it brings more praise from the "Rabble") is very evident; he seems to have more respect for the old fiddle tunes, which he calls "the Old Master's." More interesting is the fact that his audience seems to respond to all types of music: one might be tempted to explain this by saying that since WDAD was a rather weak station, much of the response came from the Nashville area, from listeners in and around the city. However, Dad's boasted of mail from states as far away as Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, and Pennsylvania,

and Dr. Bate mentions that WDAD could be heard on "good nights" in Earlington, near Madisonville Kentucky, about 80 miles northwest of Nashville. (In 1925, before the airwaves became so cluttered, even a weak station could expect to carry hundreds of miles.) It is curious that the states mentioned by Dr. Bate were all mid-western or northern states. L. N. Smith, the station manager, didn't dictate much in the way of specific repertoire, apparently dividing music into "fast numbers" and "Hawaiian numbers." In general, though, Dr. Bate--and WDAD--seemed to be programming for the middle-class, small-city tastes of the urban Nashville area.

As we learn more about Dr. Bate and his role in country music, his significance as a catalyst and a pioneer grows larger and larger. As a respected physician in the community, and as a well-trained and relatively sophisticated musician, he was the ideal man to forge links between the rural mid-South folk culture of his boyhood and the 1920s popular culture of the emerging mass media. As such a cultural intermediary, he could be compared to artists like Dalhart, who worked through records, or Bob Miller, who did it through song publishing. Dr. Bate worked through radio, and he worked on a more limited basis than either Dalhart or Miller. In the end, though, his work was just as successful.



YOUNG JIMMIE RODGERS AND HIS KINFOLK

1898 in front of the Bozeman house; left to right: Meade and Walter Raleigh Bozeman (Jimmie's uncles); his cousin Joe Bozeman; his uncle Samuel Harrison Bozeman (holding small daughter); Grandpa Samuel J. Bozeman and Grandma Virginia Shine Bozeman; Jimmie's brother, Tal (foreground, kneeling); his cousin Sue Bozeman (next to Grandma); Mrs. Samuel Harrison Bozeman with daughters (on porch); Jimmie's brother, Walter (holding Grandpa's Civil War rifle); Jimmie's uncle Tom Bozeman (on ground in front of porch); Eliza Bozeman Rodgers, holding baby Jimmie (in white); aunt Dora Bozeman; his step-aunt Lena Griffin; small daughter of Meade Bozeman. (Courtesy of the author)

STRANGER THROUGH YOUR TOWN: THE BACKGROUNDS AND EARLY LIFE OF JIMMIE RODGERS

By Nolan Porterfield

[Although nearly forty years have elapsed since Jimmie Rodgers made his first historic recordings, there has been only one book-length account of his life, and that one of intermittent reliability. Novelist Nolan Porterfield has been working on a biography of Rodgers; this article is drawn from the materials he has gathered in the course of his researches.]

His life was full of the stuff of popular drama--humble origins, sudden success, fame and wealth, an early, tragic death--and his audiences, with our peculiarly American penchant for inventing our own folk-heroes, literally made Jimmie Rodgers a legend in his own time. Rodgers himself contributed a great deal to the image, genially originating or allowing to stand numerous fanciful stories about his life and career; the rest was accomplished by the gossip of credulous fans and the mindless sort of boosterism that has historically afflicted country music promoters, disc jockeys, and "biographers." The net effect has been to obscure the actual details of Rodgers' life, especially with regard to his early years, and consequently, to distort the true nature of his influence upon country music.

Although Meridian, Mississippi, is generally considered Rodgers' "hometown," he was in fact born several miles away in the rural community known as Pine Springs, and much of his childhood was spent in surrounding hamlets that served as rail camps and division points--Lost Gap, Hookston, Toomsaba, Graham's Switch, Chunky, Enterprise, and others--where his father, Aaron Rodgers, worked as section foreman for the Mobile & Ohio and the New Orleans & Northeastern Railroads. There were brief, sporadic periods when he lived with relatives in Meridian, but it was only later, after Jimmie had married Carrie Williamson and gone to work for the NO & NE, that Meridian became, in any real sense, "home." That, too, was brief and temporary, for Jimmie Rodgers was the Ultimate and Perennial Itinerant, and if his life can be characterized by any single element, it would be impermanence--the change and alternation of his constant wandering, his blithe conviction that while it may be "good times here, it's better down the road." An outgoing, personable man with deep roots in his Southern homeland, he cultivated friends everywhere and found a home "anywhere I hang my hat," yet in another, darker sense, he would always be, in the words of his own song, "a stranger passing through your town."

Rodgers' wanderlust may have been, to some degree, an inherited characteristic. Although little is known of his paternal ancestors, they were obviously of Irish origin (with all that connotes of restlessness, displacement, and exile), caught up in the great flux of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, a time of increasing upheaval and

migration around the world. In the most extensive study of Rodgers to date, *Jimmie the Kid*, authors Mike Paris and Chris Comber say only that the Rodgers family was "of Scots-Irish origin and may have descended from the trappers and hunters who had settled the Mississippi Valley in the early nineteenth-century."¹ Even that, of course, is speculation. What is known is that Jimmie Rodgers' grandfather, Zachary Rogers [sic], was born in Mississippi in 1841, probably in the east central part of the state, and moved to the hill country of western Alabama sometime before the Civil War. Late in 1864, he enlisted (or was impressed) into Capt. Rives' Supporting Force, 9th Alabama District, C. S. A.--and promptly deserted two weeks later, an act not only appropriate to the character of Zack Rogers as handed down in family lore, but a fairly wise and not entirely dishonorable one, considering that it represented an attitude shared by thousands of his fellow Confederates by 1864.² Despite his apparent reluctance to make a formal stand against the Yankee hordes, Zack was nevertheless a true rebel and an unregenerate Southerner, a feisty, dyed-in-the-cotton son of Dixie, one of those "yeoman farmers" described by W. J. Cash in his classic study of the type as a man who "might plow a little, hunt a little, fish a little, but mainly passed [his] time on [his backside] in the shade of a tree, communing with [his] hounds and a jug of what, with a fine feeling for words, has been named 'bust-head.'"³

After the war, Zack Rogers married Martha Woodberry, a native of Georgia, and settled in Choctaw County, Alabama, where he raised mostly cotton, a little corn, and many children. The third of these, Aaron Woodberry, born in 1870, was a steely-eyed, strong-willed lad who spelled the family name with a "d" and left home in his early teens to work as a section hand with the Mobile & Ohio Railroad at Meridian, Mississippi, in the long-leaf pine region of the state.

Both the town of Meridian and the M & O Railroad had flourished briefly before the Civil War, and both had been practically destroyed by Sherman's troops in 1864. Twenty years later, however, when Aaron Rodgers went there to lay track and line roadbeds, Meridian was a thriving little town of 4,000, busy rising from its ashes and assuming some importance as a rail center; "The Mobile Road," as the M & O was popularly known, had survived the Panic of '73, prospered, and begun a broad program



of expansion, building numerous branch lines and extending its northern terminus all the way to St. Louis. Simultaneously, tracks on its older, wide-gauge routes were being reset to conform to the new 4' 8 1/2" gauge eventually adopted in 1886 as the national standard.⁴ All in all, it meant plenty of work for those willing to man the section crews, and even though it was hard labor, done with pick and scoop and crowbar, with tie tongs and twelve-pound spike maul, still, for eager country boys like Aaron Rodgers, it was better than following a mule and moldboard plow up and down the Alabama clay hills. If the wages were not appreciably better, they were at least a lot more certain.

From all accounts, Aaron Rodgers was a willing and ambitious worker, a bit fast with his fists, perhaps, and possessed of an Irish temper, but generally a gregarious, likeable fellow who got along well with the men on the section crew and made friends easily. He also had, in the vernacular of the time, an eye for the ladies, and his circle of acquaintances in Meridian soon included a number of local belles. Among them was sixteen-year-old Eliza Bozeman, whose father was a farmer and man of some means in the rural Pine Springs community a few miles northeast of Meridian.

The Bozemans, one may assume, were a rung or two up the social ladder from the red-clay bumblebee-cotton existence out of which Aaron Rodgers had come. At least their family history is better chronicled, thanks largely to the efforts of one Rev. Joseph W. Bozeman, D. D., who in 1885 compiled and published an informative, if somewhat scattered and exuberant, account of the family. Of course, as a Bozeman himself, the good Reverend was hardly an objective historian. Further allowances must be made for his addiction to Victorian rhetoric and the vestiges of that peculiar, musty sort of ancestor worship more rampant in Savannah than in Shanghai. Nonetheless, the Bozemans as he depicts them were a sturdy clan of farmers and craftsmen, a cut above the average, who went about their daily business of getting and spending, thriving and multiplying, not without a certain grace and sense of character.

Eliza Bozeman's ancestors, generations back, were natives of Holland (the name was originally "Bosman" or "Boschman") who settled in Maryland along the eastern banks of Chesapeake Bay before the Revolution,⁵ and later migrated--south into Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia, west to Alabama and Mississippi and beyond--following a pattern common to millions of families, including in all likelihood that of Aaron Rodgers, which eventually populated the Old South. Eliza's great-grandfather, Meady Bozeman, had settled in Georgia in the 1790s; her grandfather, also named Meady, married Lucy Carroll of Carrollton (described by the Rev. Bozeman as "a woman of active, vigorous mind, great strength of character, and as fearless as a heroine") and moved into central Alabama, where he farmed and acquired a reputation as "a very fine mechanic" (i.e., carpenter).⁶

There, in 1838, Eliza's father, Samuel, was born, and about 1840, the family moved westward again, to Kemper County, Mississippi, some forty miles northwest of Meridian. Young Sam, only nineteen when his father died in 1857, went back to Lowndes County, Alabama, to work and farm with relatives. He was there when the Civil War erupted, and quickly enlisted (3 July 1861) as a private in Company B, 14th Alabama Infantry. Captured at Gettysburg on the second day of Lee's bloody, doomed assault on the Union forces, he spent almost two years as a prisoner of war. Finally, in June 1865, two months after Lee's surrender at Appomattox, he was administered the required Oath of Allegiance to the United States of America, given a battered Union Army Spencer carbine to replace the British Enfield he had surrendered, and released.⁷

Returning to Mississippi, he took up his father's trade as carpenter and bridgebuilder, later bought land in Lauderdale County near Pine Springs, and married a local woman, Mrs. Virginia Shine Robinson, who had been widowed by the war and left with two small daughters.⁸ Through dint of luck and hard labor, he prospered; by the 1880s his land holdings in the area were so large that the Bozeman place was known locally as "Sixteen Sections."

Eliza was the second of five children born to Sam and "Jennie" Bozeman, a frail, rather somber girl whose seeming reticence and solemnity concealed a strong spirit and a lively wit. Born in 1868, she was two years older than Aaron Rodgers--almost seventeen when he began to court her late in 1884. An exchange of letters in January of the following year suggests the growing intensity of their friendship, an easy familiarity beneath the outward forms of social decorum.⁹ Aaron's note, cast in the elegant Spencerian script and formal diction of the time, is a model of etiquette and propriety, tending to belie his youth--he was barely fifteen--as well as his brief and spotty schooling:

Meridian, Miss.
Jan'y. 4, 1885

Miss Eliza Bozeman
Esteemed Friend,

If agreeable with you, I would like to have the pleasure of carrying [i.e., escorting] you out to preaching on 3rd Sunday, Jan'y 18th, if there is any out there on that day.

Truly your friend,
A. W. R.

P.S. Enclosed you will find your book which I found very interesting...

As Ever,
A. W. R.

Eliza's penmanship and spelling suffer by

comparison, but her teasing reply, no less formally correct, tells a great deal about her lively character and the increasing familiarity of the relationship:

Meridian, Miss.
Jan. 9, 1885

Mr. A. W. Rodgers
Kind Friend,

They will be preaching at Fellowship and Suqualena [communities near Pine Springs] on the third Sunday. I will accept your company with pleasure to Suqualena. Tell Lena [her half-sister, Lena Griffin, who operated a millinery shop in Meridian] if she don't send my old black vail [sic] home by you the next time you come, I will snatch her ballheaded [sic]. Your picture is very much esteemed. I will tell you what I thought about it on the third. I did not send you that book because I thought it suited you. I lent it to you because I thought you would like it. Adieu,

Your friend,
Eliza Bozeman

The elegant salutations and coy adieux soon fell by the way. By summer, "Miss Bozeman" had become "Eliza, My Dearest," and when he wrote in September, Aaron's note was brief and to the point:

Meridian, Miss.
Sept. 9th, 185 [sic]

Eliza,
My Dearest,

You may look for me on the 13th inst.

Truly yours,
Aaron

A month later, on 18 October, they were married and moved into a modest but comfortable frame house on a small plot of land which Sam Bozeman had set aside for them a few hundred yards from his own home. They lived there only temporarily, however, for Aaron was soon promoted to foreman of the "extra-gang," a section crew which operated on an erratic schedule at various locations, often being called away for days at a time to serve as trouble-shooter or maintenance back-up on some distant part of the division's lines. Whenever circumstances permitted, his new bride followed along, setting up "house" in a tent or boxcar, but soon even that irregular routine was further altered and interrupted by the arrival of two sons, Walter in August 1886, and Talmage in January 1890. During each confinement, Eliza returned to her parents at Pine Springs, then rejoined her wandering husband as soon as she and the babies were able

to travel. Following the birth of Talmage, however, she suffered two successive miscarriages, and her health, never very robust, began to fail permanently. It was, in all likelihood, the onset of tuberculosis, contracted in the raw, shoddy rail camps where such diseases were endemic, and aggravated by the general hardships of her nomadic life as a railroad section foreman's wife. The intervals at Pine Springs became increasingly frequent, and Aaron, in deference to her health, began to divide his time between railroading and attempts at farming the acreage he had acquired from his father-in-law. By the mid 1890s, they had more or less taken up residence in the house Sam Bozeman had built for them as a wedding present, and it was there, on 8 September 1897, that Eliza Rodgers gave birth to her third and last child. Christened James Charles, he was a chubby, brown-eyed baby who quickly became the spoiled favorite of the family.

It was soon obvious that Eliza Rodgers' illness had become chronic. In 1903 her health deteriorated rapidly, and she died sometime that year, when Jimmie was six.¹⁰ Although various branches of the Bozeman family were close by and offered to take Talmage and Jimmie (Walter, then seventeen, had already joined his father on the railroad), Aaron Rodgers, for reasons not fully known, declined and instead sent the boys to live for a time with his relatives at Scooba, Mississippi, and nearby Geiger, Alabama.

It would be the first of many moves for young Jimmie. Although he was never quite the poor orphan child later depicted in publicity and legend, he would not have a really permanent address again for more than twenty-five years, when, as a rising star in the entertainment world, he build his Texas "mansion"--and lived there barely eighteen months.¹¹

Jimmie's sojourn with his Rodgers relatives lasted hardly a year, for in October 1904, his father married again and consolidated the family. The new Mrs. Rodgers was a Pine Springs widow named Ida Love Smith, whose son, Jake, from her first marriage, was three years younger than Jimmie.

Having once more assumed the responsibilities of a family, Aaron left the railroad in 1905 and made an all-out effort to support them by farming the land he still held at Pine Springs. He mortgaged eighty acres, along with "One Horse color Bay, about seven years old, also one Bay Mare--about Eight years old" in exchange for "money, supplies & merchandise" as advances on that year's harvest.¹² Unhappily, the crop was short, and he was forced to sell the land that fall to pay off the note. The following year, the family (now enlarged by the birth of a daughter, Lottie Mae) moved to Loundes County, in the black prairie region of northeastern Mississippi, some eighty-five miles above Meridian, where Aaron made a short and ill-fated attempt at running an alfalfa farm. When that venture collapsed, he returned to work on the railroad, first at West Point, Mississippi, and shortly afterward back in Meridian, where he

found a job as section foreman on the New Orleans & Northeastern Railroad. Again, their stay in Meridian was only temporary.

In addition to the family's precarious economic condition, there was growing trouble--or tension, at least--between Aaron Rodgers' sons and their new stepmother. Walter Rodgers by this time was twenty years old and had been pretty much on his own since joining the NO & NE the year before to become a conductor, but Tal and Jimmie were still at home and subject to parental guidance. However occasional and arbitrary that "guidance" may have been, it was nevertheless something they'd hardly been prepared for by the years of their mother's illness and the round of foster homes following her death. Now, during Aaron's frequent, lengthy trips away with the section crews, the two brothers, strong-willed and independent like their father, chaffed increasingly under the stern hand of Ida Rodgers, whom they apparently had never much liked and whose strict rules and efforts at discipline, real or imagined, they found more and more unbearable. Thus it came as some relief to all when Ida decided to take the baby, Lottie Mae, and join Aaron in his wanderings from one rail camp to another. The boys were sent to Pine Springs, where Jake was given over to the care of Ida's parents, the Loves; Tal and Jimmie went to live with their mother's maiden sister, Dora Bozeman, who upon the death of Sam and Jennie Bozeman a few years earlier had been left to preside over Sixteen Sections, the old Bozeman "home place."

To outward appearances, "Aunt Dora" was the archetypal old maid, one of those thin, sharp-faced spinsters who in that time seemed to pass immediately from childhood to barren middle age, invariably mirrored in the collective family consciousness as a frumpy stick figure poking about in sunbonnet and gingham and apron, tending gardens, raising chickens and someone else's children, ministering to generations of kin, martyred, in all the wrong senses, to a motion not her own.

Happily, beneath that appearance there was another, vastly different Dora Bozeman. True, she came to the role of Old Maid with all the likely credentials, right down to the inevitably tragic episode of a youthful lost love--but that only proved, if anything, that Dora took comfort in the old cliché about loving-and-losing being better than never loving at all. It signified, too, that she had at least had a youth, however painful, and had emerged from it whole--a warm, delightful lady full of humor and patience, apparently free of the self-pity and narrowness that so often afflicts those who find that life has delivered something less than promised. Keen intelligence was a Bozeman family trait, and Dora had her full share. She displayed a wide range of talents as a child, became an accomplished, if not especially inspired, pianist, and was, for a woman in that time and place, well educated. As befitted the daughter of a man of Sam Bozeman's position (in another country in another day, he might have been "Squire

Bozeman), she had "finished" at Cooper's Institute, a private academy for women at Daleville, Mississippi, and held diplomas certifying her to teach English and music. She did, in fact, teach music briefly, although that had been long before her nephews came to live with her. (It was probably not the sort of thing that would have appealed to or much affected a young rascal like Jimmie Rodgers anyway; nonetheless, in view of the difficulty of establishing any significant, immediate musical influences upon him in these years, Dora's background in language, literature, and melody, her training in rhyme and rhythm, can hardly be ignored.)

Tal was sixteen and Jimmie nine when they went to live with their Aunt Dora in late 1906 and enrolled in school at Pine Springs for the winter term. Before his mother's death, Jimmie had attended a shanty school at Lost Gap, one of the rail points just west of Meridian where his father worked for a time. That initial brush with book learning ended abruptly when Eliza died, but after Aaron remarried, Jimmie had "started over" in the first grade at Pine Springs. The following year, when the family moved to the hay farm in Loundes County, he and his stepbrother, Jake Smith, went to school briefly, and sporadically, at Artesia, several miles from the farm. The trip to school was made on the back of an ancient mule they called "'Sociation" (it belonged to the agricultural combine for which Aaron worked), over raw paths and primitive country roads that offered endless diversions and excuses to dawdle, as a consequence of which they rarely got to school on time. More often than not, they never arrived at all. Sickness also contributed to Jimmie's absences that winter; he seemed to have inherited his mother's frail health and was increasingly susceptible to colds and respiratory infections.

Later that year, he had gone to school in Meridian for a few months in the fall; perhaps it is more correct to say that he was supposed to go to school there. Aaron had rejoined the railroad and was away from home frequently, Jimmie was at odds with his stepmother, and the "city" of Meridian presented infinite lures and fascinations to the would-be truant.

A busy, booming rail and trade center, turn-of-the-century Meridian was the largest city in the state (the population increased by almost ten thousand between 1900 and 1910, from 14,050 to 23,285), a diverse and sprightly Southern metropolis boasting multi-storied office buildings and hotels, an electric street car line, two telephone companies, bricked streets, a professional baseball team, and a "splendid" police force. In addition to lumber mills and cotton gins, a cannery, and a harness-and-saddle works, there were factories which produced steam boilers, eight-wheel lumber wagons, brooms, mattresses, and a variety of farm and household goods, distributed by rail from the complex of warehouses and shipping facilities of the seven major rail lines which served the city and operated "Shops" (roundhouse and repair stalls)

there.

High above the hurly-burly of commerce and industry, The Finer Things in Life were cultivated by the Meridian Male College, the Meridian Female College (separate but, one assumes, equal), and the Moffit-McLaurin Institute for Girls; Mississippi Medical College was located there, as well as a normal school for Negroes and a conservatory of music which proclaimed itself "largest in the South!" Culture was further served by locally-produced plays in the City Coliseum and by touring companies which appeared at the Opera House. Among professional entertainers, Meridian had long had a reputation as a "show town," a good place to play. A Board of Trade publication of the time noted that "the fact that this city breaks the jump between the East and the South for expensive companies and leading stars touring the South may have some influence in the city's favor, but. . . we have here a large theatrical element. . . and [the city] is rated by managers as a theater town."¹³

Ironically, but understandably, the same publication also boasted that "Meridian is an ideal place for raising boys," for they are "not surrounded by temptations that beset them in other places." Indeed, Meridian must have been a fine place to be a boy, but hardly for the reasons the Board of Trade had in mind. Of course, the Greatest Temptation of All was liquor: "The city has for years operated under the prohibition laws," intoned the B. of T., "and the police force here makes the prohibition law prohibit. . . for that reason the type of young man found here is much above the average in moral worth."¹⁴ If young Jimmie Rodgers read that quaint bit of sententious puffery, he surely must have smiled. Only a few years later, he would take delight in telling people that he'd left the NO & NE because of "trouble with Rule G" (forbidding the "use of intoxicants by employees")¹⁵ and when, on one of those infamous talking records made with the Carter Family, he asks A. P. to "go get the ole boy [i.e., Rodgers] a little squirt," it is not so much an attempt to get a laugh as it is an entirely natural act, born of long familiarity with saloons and cups that cheer. Although he was never quite the heavy boozier that legend tried to make him, he consciously cultivated the image of the convivial drinking man, and it was clearly something he'd acquired early, hanging around the railroad shops, the Negro joints along 5th Street, the pool halls and tonsorial parlors where drinking men congregated.

Even if Meridian's prohibition laws did indeed prohibit, the spirited, feisty young Jimmie Rodgers was hardly at a loss for other "temptations": in addition to the fine, delicious evils that emanated from the rail shops and pool rooms, there were countless alleys to roam, pranks to play, drug-stores with Belgian marble soda counters and gaudy trinkets, and a succession of tatty carnivals, circuses, and medicine shows catering to the street crowds unable to afford the "expensive companies and leading stars" which played the Opera House. Jimmie Rodgers, apparently star-struck from birth,

was fascinated by any kind of show; he was particularly excited when the Gem and Elite Theaters, both nominally vaudeville houses, began to show the new-fangled moving pictures between acts. He and Jake ran with a gang of boys like themselves, an amorphous band of whelps who skipped school, rolled garbage cans through the alleys at night, sneaked into the "flickers," ran errands and did odd jobs for pocket money, peddled newspapers and jugs of molasses (and occasionally a jug or two of something harder), begged or chisled what they couldn't earn, alternately loafed and hustled the time away. Jimmie's schooling during these few months in the fall of 1906 was mostly of the street variety, and while it may not have done much for his "moral worth," it would become the foundation of both his art and his life, and serve him well.

The nature of young Jimmie's existence was measurably altered when he went to live with his Aunt Dora in the country a few months later. Nothing would permanently change his "rough and rowdy ways"--it was too late for that--but out at Pine Springs there were no alleys to roam or juke joints to frequent, and he was separated from daily contact with his closest cohort, Jake, who'd been sent to live with Ida's parents. In place of that, there was a deepening relationship with Tal, then maturing into his late teens, a sober and reliable young man who had always been the most levelheaded of Aaron Rodgers' boys. In Aaron's absence, Tal became the nearest thing to a father that Jimmie had at that crucial stage in his life, and Jimmie idolized him. Most of all, there was the calm and steady influence of Dora Bozeman, who, lenient and adoring as she may have been, nevertheless ran a household: there were regular meals, chores to be done, a routine to be followed. Other members of the Bozeman clan kept a sterner, if ultimately less effective, eye on him.

Jimmie Rodgers' boyhood at Pine Springs was in many ways idyllic. In that ripe, spawning time of the new century, the world was still faraway from rural Mississippi, yet life--its colors and textures, thrills and pains--intensely near: rich, pungent days of earth-smells and horses, honey-suckle and pine and chicken manure, hog-killings in the fall, windless wood smoke from distant cabins curling through the chill November rains, winter's cold starlight and the aching wails of trains in the night, flashing storms, the lush summer land, heat-choked and brooding. It was a sniggering, rowdy childhood of high jinks and swimming holes, peach-tree switches and school picnics. Young Jimmie roamed the bottoms of Sixteen Sections, swimming and fishing (he and Tal spent so much time angling for catfish and perch in a little stream near Aunt Dora's farm that it became known locally as "Rodgers Creek" and so appears on county maps today); he chewed sugar cane and developed a life-long appetite for cornbread and milk; he foraged for chestnuts and scaly barks, scrambled over the limestone hills with his Bozeman cousins, dodged school, took to smoking, let his shirttail hang out, and avoided Sunday School, much to the chagrin of his staunchly

Methodist aunts and uncles, who were already convinced that he would never amount to anything. All but Aunt Dora: she kept the faith, and indulged him, and the others went along. He was, after all, a Poor Motherless Child (and "the runt of Uncle Aaron's litter," as his Cousin Pearl Bozeman Harris said later, "so we took pity"), a rowdy and unkempt waif who was difficult to discipline or keep in school, yet somehow wise beyond his years, always into some devilment. But he had a certain wistful Irish charm and a cocky grin, and they all loved him in spite of his ruffian pranks and his stubborn disregard of bathtubs, schoolbooks, and Sunday manners.

Whatever formal learning he got--and it was a great deal, considering its brevity--it was acquired largely during these few years at Pine Springs, from late 1906 until the early spring of 1911. For the first time (and the last, as it turned out), "James," as he was known to the family in those days, went to school more or less regularly. Sickness continued to take its toll, especially in the winter months, but with the community schoolhouse only a short distance from Aunt Dora's, it was almost impossible to play truant. Moreover, the school mistress, Miss Pearl Pope, was Aunt Dora's star boarder--which meant that for Jimmie at least, the school day did not end when the last bell had rung. Miss Pope, like Aunt Dora, was a doughty but warm-hearted and sympathetic woman, and like Dora also, she was to exert a life-long influence upon Jimmie Rodgers. Although she was hardly a Miss Grundy, the mere fact that she lived at the Bozeman house and was in daily contact with "James" obviously meant that he got more exposure to book-learning than he ordinarily would have. In any event, she took a close and lasting interest in the boy--perhaps all the more lasting because of her even closer interest in his older brother.

Meanwhile, Aaron Rodgers had more plans a-brewing. In January 1907, he wrote to Talmage on a NO & NE letterhead from Purvis, Mississippi, south of Hattiesburg:

Dear son Talmage, 16

I expect to be in Mdn on the 12th Inst. I want you to meet me at Union depot If you don't find me at Mr. Ainsworths. I may start from Talowah on friday night on #8 & arrive at Mdn at 12:30 saturday a.m. If I do I may walk out to Ainsworths. I want you to bring James & Jake to Mdn with you. I'd like for you to ask your Aunt Dora to make out her act. against me for Jas. Board & send by you so I can settle it.

I have an offer to make you also & dont arrange to work any where untill you see me.

We are well.

goodby
your Father
A. W. Rodgers

But apparently Tal, like his father, had a mind of his own. Things did not work out, and a month later Aaron wrote again, in a letter dated "Meridian [Railroad] Shops, Feb. 8, 1907":

Well Talmage

This is the second time I've written you to come away from out there. I claim the exclusive right and [on?] your services, however you may have your earning, but you must leave your Aunt Dora. Be sure and come home and bring the two yearlings from Mr. W. W. Love [Ida's father].

your Father

A. W. Rodgers

Simultaneously, he wrote to Dora:

Miss Bozeman,

I kindly and respectfully ask you to not retain my son any longer on your farm. I need him at home.

Respectfully,

A. W. Rodgers

Her reply, if she made one, is lost. The "discussion" between Tal and his father went on for several months, but eventually Aaron realized that Tal could not be swayed, and gave up. His last letter on the subject is interesting for its air of petulance coupled with his touching paternal concern for young Jimmie:

Dear son [Talmage],

Since writing to your Aunt Dora, I have reconsidered & decided to give my consent for you to farm on her land if it is your choice, and any favor to her. The good will you do me [perhaps meaning "the good you will do me"] is not much, only the bad things you may say of me, so go on and do as you like about it. But don't mistreat James. You will find \$1.00 is enclosed. It is to buy James some pants. It is all the bill I have. Good night, may God bless you.

your Papa

[P.S.] Kiss James for me

The remark that "It is all the bill I have" may have been a comment on his financial condition, but it more likely meant simply that it was the only paper (and therefore mailable) currency on hand at the moment. Aaron Rodgers was never a prosperous man, but he worked steadily, paid his bills, had, from all accounts, "good credit," and saw that his boys were taken care of, however random and haphazard that care might sometimes have

been. Moreover, if a dollar seems a pittance, one must remember that in that time it was almost enough to buy a boy's suit; a pair of top-quality overalls could have been had for half that amount.¹⁷

Whatever Tal's reasons for defying his father's orders to "come away from out there," he obviously had no sustained interest in farming. In January 1908, he married Pearl Pope and they soon moved into Meridian, where Tal had taken a job as a bill collector for the Dixie Credit Company. Early in 1911, Jimmie left Pine Springs also, ostensibly to live with Aaron and Ida in a house that Aaron had rented near the Meridian Shops. But as usual, Aaron was rarely home, and Jimmie fell into his old habit of making the rounds of relatives and acquaintances, dodging school, and learning the lessons of the street.

During this time, one of his mother's younger brothers, Tom Bozeman, was an up-and-coming businessman in Meridian; among his several enterprises was the city's first "white enamel" barbershop (a dazzling step ahead of the old-fashioned zinc-fixed tonsorial parlors of the day). Located in the middle of a bustling triangle bounded by downtown, a complex of hotels and offices, and the rail yards, Tom Bozeman's barbershop was a natural center of male social activity, a popular gathering-place for the city's male elite--businessmen, politicians, and travelers, as well as for policemen, railroaders, and other working men. It consequently became more or less a headquarters for thirteen-year-old Jimmie Rodgers. "Home" was often a daybed in the apartment of Tom Bozeman--a bachelor at the time--above the barbershop; during business hours Jimmie hung around the shop, picking up bits of gossip and running errands for pocket change. He traded bawdy stories with traveling men, shot dice with the shine boys in a backroom, acquired from the pages of *Sporting Life* and *The Police Gazette* something of a literary taste for the sordid, sensational, and sentimental, and generally established himself as a tough but likeable street-wise kid who knew his way around and could hold his own with the best of them.

There is little in the life of Jimmie Rodgers to this point--the "formative years"--that would account for or foreshadow his eventual success as a musical entertainer, much less suggest that he would one day be a big-time personality, the idol of millions, a show business institution, and a dominant influence in the development of one of the greatest cultural phenomena in twentieth-century America, "the father" of the multi-million-dollar industry known as Country Music. His Grandad Zack played a fiddle (which young Tal had "messed with" for a time, along with the banjo, but soon gave up); Dora Bozeman, as we've seen, had been trained in the "serious" music of her day--light opera and the more accessible classics--but there is little basis for assuming that any of this was more than passively absorbed by her young nephew James. Despite his aversion to church, he was no doubt familiar with its music, at least the old standard

hymns which gravitate to almost every Southern consciousness; almost certainly he had been exposed to country fiddling, the banjoing of med-show minstrels, and occasional harmonizing among the patrons of Tom Bozeman's barbershop. Ultimately, however, the depth and degree of these possible influences can hardly be assessed from the meager, almost entirely circumstantial evidence available.

Whatever the source of his inspirations or the origins of his talent, somewhere along the way Jimmie Rodgers had decided, very early and very definitely, that he wanted to be An Entertainer--one of those rare and select people who are called, almost as if by divine right or intervention, to rise in front of other, lesser humans and do things that dazzle, delight, and ennoble their poor benighted fellows. And with all the confidence and determination that would later characterize the whole course of his struggle against impossible odds, having once made up his mind he headed straight for the mark.

His first, gawky venture into show business, a natural outgrowth of wisecracking and clowning for the barbershop crowd, was to organize a neighborhood "carnival." It's a game most children play at some time or another, but Jimmie went at it seriously. From Tal's wife (who was now "Sister Pearl") he filched several bed sheets, stitched together a "big top," and took the show on the road. Caught up with "several towns away," he produced enough money from the box office to pay for the sheets and glumly agreed to fold the tent and come home. Still a second time he outfitted a troupe and took off, on this occasion sporting an expensive sidewall camping tent he'd charged to his father without Aaron's knowledge; and once more he was tracked down and brought back.¹⁸

Undaunted, he entered an amateur talent contest sponsored by Meridian's Elite Theater, and promptly won first prize for his vocal renditions of "Steamboat Bill" and "I Wonder Why Bill Bailey Don't Come Home." (Probably learned from then-current popular disc or cylinder recordings). On the basis of that thin brush with fame, he wangled himself an appearance--unpaid, of course--with a medicine show then playing Meridian, and when the show left town a few days later, Jimmie Rodgers left with it. It was not quite the fulfillment of every boy's dream of running off to join the circus, but it was the best he could manage at the moment. This time he left with the knowledge, if not exactly the approval, of at least some members of the family. Tom Bozeman knew of the move, but made no real effort to stop him. Down the road a few days later, Jimmie wrote to his uncle, reporting the show's progress:

[2 May 1911]¹⁹
Cottondale, Ala

Mr. Tom Bozeman
My Dear Uncle,



Jimmie Rodgers and his father, Aaron



We are making a little money and having a good time to [sic]. I thing [sic] we will Be in Birmingham Ala Saturday Some time. I hope all is well, tell all I Said hello.

James

Rodgers

He may have gotten as far as Birmingham with the medicine show; it is more likely that he and The Good Doctor came to a parting of the ways soon after Cottondale, for, as Jimmie reported to his Aunt Dora, "I quit the show man because he would [wouldn't] treat me Right." Undismayed at being a hundred miles from home and entirely on his own, the plucky thirteen-year-old soon found a job in West Blocton, a small hill town southwest of Birmingham. "I'm working at Mr. Tuggles," he wrote to Dora. The Tuggle Brothers, T. C. and J. M., were tailors, "Specialists in Made-To-Order Garments," and proprietors of Tuggle's Yellow Front Photograph Gallery.²⁰ "Mr. [Tuggle] is paying me 50¢ a day and Bord," Jimmie wrote, "and I like my work." One can only speculate about his business efficiency, but socially he was, as always, a fast worker: "I have many frends [sic] here, and Sweet little girl to." In every town, in all his wanderings, there would invariably be a "Sweet little girl to" for Jimmie Rodgers.

Just how long he stayed in West Blocton is not known, but it is unlikely that he was there more than a few months at most. Dora wrote him of her concern for his welfare and lack of schooling (to which he would reply, with as much reassurance as he could muster, that he would "try to go to School if I can next fall"); nor was Aaron Rodgers totally oblivious to the precarious situation of his youngest son. Sometime that summer he "retrieved" Jimmie from the Tuggles and brought him back to Meridian, probably with an eye to sending him back to school. However, Ida Rodgers died in October, and Aaron returned to the helter-skelter life of a section foreman on the M & O, taking Jimmie with him this time. By December, they were with the extra gang in Macon, Mississippi, north of Meridian, where, as Jimmie wrote to Aunt Dora, "Papa is teaching me to line and surface track." Aaron had vague plans for putting him in school at Starkville "after Xmas," but nothing came of them. Jimmie Rodgers' career as a railroad man had begun.

It has since become something of a commonplace that Jimmie Rodgers was first and foremost a railroader--a professional brakeman who merely happened into show business only because he was too ill to "ride the iron" any longer. With the passage of time, the railroad would most certainly assume a dominant place in the Rodgers mythos, would become, as one enthusiastic writer put it, the very "symbol of his life,"²¹ almost as if he had cut his teeth on a rail spike, grown up counting cross ties, and--to quote another eminent scholar--"finally became a singer" only "as a desperate expedient,"²² when sickness had forced him to give up the strenuous

life of his chosen profession. Obviously, he could hardly have grown up as the son of Aaron Rodgers without some passing familiarity with switch engines and water tanks and peddler freights and the special lingo of trainmen; from his earliest years he'd ridden handcars and rattling "crummies" and bantered with brakemen and occasionally carried water, without pay, for his father's section gang. Much later, as a full-time railroader--call-boy, flagman, baggage-master, brakeman--he no doubt came to "love" it, as much as any man can love a thing that works him hard and pays him poorly, and he would always look back on those years on the high iron with great pride.

All that, however, has tended to obscure his much earlier and far more constant fascination with the world of entertainment and his many eager, if ill-fated attempts from earliest childhood to become a part of it. Show business was his true dream and calling; if hardly a Born Performer, he nevertheless sensed that he was born to perform, and would forever pursue the dream, no matter how brief and dark the reality of it might sometimes be. At fourteen his fledgling career as a performer had merely been brought to a stand-still for the moment, and the rails were the most immediate alternative, a job of work and a way of putting in time until another opportunity came along. In the years ahead, he would, in fact, hold many other jobs--truck driver, day laborer, farm hand, mechanic, janitor, even dish washer. His efforts to get back in front of an audience might frequently be postponed or shunted aside, but never, ever abandoned.

There is the further circumstance that he was still a long way from being a polished performer, and undoubtedly realized it. Years would pass before he would find the exact blend of voice and instrument that would finally express so eloquently his unique genius. Moreover, his stage aspirations, if openly admitted, would surely have earned him ridicule around the railyards. It was safer to bide his time, and learn what he could from the musically-inclined "amateurs"--black and white alike--who manned the trains and worked the right-of-ways.

After all, he was only in his early teens, an awkward, growing boy beset with all the aches and uncertainties of adolescence. Some of the pains were actual physical ones, for although he had put on weight, had "fleshed out," and outgrown some of his childhood sicknesses, there were still frequent bouts with bad colds, pleurisy, and other chest ailments, even in summertime. In August 1912, he wrote to Dora from Artesia, Mississippi, where he and his father were working with the road crews of the Mobile & Ohio:

My Dear Aunt Dora,

I am sick in the bed, but I am better now. I am having chills, doctor here day and night. I am in

the bed writing to you.

I hope you are well. excuse [sic]
Paper. answer soon.

James Rodgers

As usual, they were never in one place very long. The following year Jimmie was in Oklona, up the M & O line, "running a [baggage] transfer car and making Pretty good money and having a good time." In November he wrote to Dora that he planned to "come Down there Christmas if I can get off and spend (eat) xmas dinner with you all. Lottie May [sic] is at Mrs. Williams yet But he [Aaron] is going to take her away soon. Good luck to you all. Excuse paper and spelling."

School or no, his handwriting was improving, even if his orthography wasn't. He would forever take casual, often colorful, liberties with spelling, grammar, and punctuation, yet his letters of this period bear, in form and complexity, little resemblance to those of only a few years earlier, and the voice that speaks through them is that of a very bright but sometimes troubled young man, increasingly conscious of himself--and trying very hard to come to terms with that self. Which is not to say that the letters are ever particularly "deep" or introspective in any real sense, but even those invariable, touching little efforts to "excuse" himself for blunders of form or expression suggest an increasing attempt to identify a world beyond, and to measure himself against it. While it would seem on the surface that he is mostly concerned with "making good money and having a good time"--a phrase that occurs again and again in his letters--what is really at stake is his dogged determination to escape the curse laid down against him by family and friends, the by-now-weary imprecation that Jimmie Rodgers is a lackadaisical kid who will never amount to anything. The strongest evidence of his reaction is a line in a letter written to Dora from Muldon, Mississippi, in May 1914: "I am Making a Man out of myself now." It is followed, to be sure, by the usual "And making Prety [sic] good money" (the two notions forever conjoined but not necessarily coequal, even in his own set of values). There is now a Spencerian flourish to his signature (still "James"), bold if a bit erratic, mindful of the young Aaron, and written on the back, in his normal hand, the inevitable "Excuse bad writing & spelling." *I am making a man of myself.* He is not yet seventeen, and has, almost to the day, nineteen years to live.

It is one of the great cliches of country music, almost Keatsian in its romantic purity, that the artist must suffer in order to create--or, as Hank Williams would later put it, "You've got to have smelt a lot of mule manure before you can sing like a hillbilly." Anyone who has heard

Jimmie Rodgers sing "T. B. Blues" or "Lullaby Yodel" or "My Old Pal" will recognize immediately that Rodgers had lived what he sang, had suffered the pain and anguish, had gone through it, in the most metaphysical sense, as Ishmael penetrated the whiteness of the whale and survived to translate it into a statement of common faith, some resonant, soothing litany, inexpressible and inexplicable but instantly perceived, shared, understood. The distinctive note of Rodgers' personality was an unflagging exuberance, a jaunty optimism sometimes portrayed in almost pollyannaian proportions, but always beneath it there was the hard cold note of reality, the certain knowledge that "my time ain't long." "I guess you got no business with the blues unless you can sing 'em," he said, and that was his acknowledgement that the human condition is a hard day's work, and music helps to ease the burden. Although his own life was a constant alternation of sunshine and shadow, one of the most remarkable things about it is that the darkness so rarely ever showed outside his music.

One of those rare moments surfaces in a letter he wrote to Dora from a railroad boarding house in New Orleans in June 1916. After a brave--and all-too-familiar--start ("I have a good Job and making good money and doing fine"), the reality of his situation gradually emerges, as he complains that he has not heard from his friend Sammy Williams: "Aunt Dora ask Sam whats the mater he can't write to me. I wrote him twice now and he has not ans one of my letters. Ask him if he got my card. . ." Yet he is quick to make it plain that he doesn't really care (for after all, he is making a man of himself): "Tell him if he don't wont to write to me, he need not trouble him self." Take that, Sam Williams!

The problem, in fact, went much deeper than a casual slight from a boyhood chum. The whole world, it seemed, was against him: "I and [am] going to Elpaso Texas in a weak or 10 days I think. And if I can get the Job I am trying to get there I dont never indind [intend] to come to Miss. again all my People are down on me. Also my Brothers & father there." It was a rare note of self-pity, unrelieved by any of the dogged optimism that usually marked even the bleakest of his moods.

Years later he would sing of Texas as "the land of my boyhood dreams." Apparently none of them came true in 1916, for whatever the outcome of his projected trip to the Lone Star State, by early the next year he was back in Mississippi, working at various jobs and, as usual, courting a succession of "Sweet little girls," one of whom was to play a brief but significant role in his life.

FOOTNOTES

- 1 Paris and Comber, *Jimmie the Kid*; from the unpublished manuscript, p. 2.
- 2 Roll 21, Capt. B. S. Rives' Supporting Force, Post of Selma, Alabama, June 7, 1865, in the National Archives, Washington, D. C. ". . . [T]here are over 100,000 deserters scattered over the Confederacy; . . . so common is the crime it has, in popular estimation, lost the stigma which justly pertains to it, and therefore the criminals are everywhere shielded by their families and by the sympathies of many communities." Brigadier-General John S. Preston, Superintendent, Bureau of Conscription (C.S.A.) to J. C. Breckenridge, Secretary of War (C.S.A.), March 3, 1865, *The War of the Rebellion: Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, Series IV (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1900), III, 1119-1120. See also Hofstadter, Miller, and Aaron, *The United States: The History of a Republic* (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1959), p. 363: "Resistance to conscription centered in the hilly regions of Alabama, Georgia, and Mississippi. . . . Desertions from the Confederate army increased alarmingly after 1863, especially among the troops from non-slaveholding sections. The total number of Confederate deserters through the war amounted to well over 100,000 . . ."
- 3 W. J. Cash, *The Mind of the South* (New York: Vintage Books, 1961), p. 25.
- 4 Although the standard gauge had been passed into law by the U. S. Congress during the Civil War, almost twenty-five years transpired before it was accepted and put into effect nationwide.
- 5 The place-name "Bozman" [sic] appears today on maps of Talbot County, Maryland.
- 6 "Houses that he built in Dallas County, Ala., fifty years ago, are still pointed out with pride as the work of Meady Bozeman. A large, fine-looking man, with blue eyes and ruddy face, full of life and jest, he was the delight of young people even in his advanced years." Rev. Jos. W. Bozeman, D. D., *Sketches of the Bozeman Family* (Meridian, Miss.: Mercury Publishing Co., 1885), p. 105.
- 7 Company Muster Rolls, Co. B, 14 Reg't Alabama Infantry, and Prisoner of War Registers, Fort Delaware, Delaware, in the National Archives, Washington, D. C.
- 8 From her side of the family, Mrs. Robinson brought the blood of, among others, the Yankee admiral, David Farragut, a distant cousin, and the New York actor and dramatist, John L. Shine.
- 9 Except where noted, letters are in the possession of Mrs. M. G. Harvey (pseud. "Virginia Shine") of Meridian, the daughter of Tom Bozeman and a cousin of Rodgers. I am grateful to Mrs. Harvey for access to the correspondence and for permission to publish. Photocopies are in my possession.
- 10 Eliza Rodgers' headstone shows only the years of her birth and death. Efforts to locate more detailed records have so far been unsuccessful.
- 11 So much moving about, coupled with the general instability of the family during Rodgers' youth, has of course led to much speculation about possible psychological effects. Paris and Comber, for instance, note that it "probably left Jimmie with a deep restlessness and a keen sense of insecurity" and further suggest that "these factors may help to explain his forceful, brash personality, and the desperate, almost fanatical, attempts he made in later years to keep his own family together. . ." (*Jimmie the Kid*, p. 3). Whatever conclusions one cares to draw, it must be said that Rodgers seemed to prefer staying on the move, for even in his adult life he did not ever really "settle down."
- 12 *Deed Records of Lauderdale County, Mississippi*, 51:504.
- 13 *Illustrated Handbook of Meridian, Mississippi* (Meridian: Board of Trade and Cotton Exchange, 1907), p. 14, *passim*. Among the acts and productions which appeared in Meridian in 1910-11 were "Polly of the Circus," Margaret Anglin in "The Awakening of Helena Ritchie," Al G. Fields Minstrels, and The Novelty Grahams, a song-dance-and-acrobatic team; also, under canvas, were The Sun Brothers Shows (a carnival), the Ringling Bros. Circus, and W. T. Swain's Repertoire Company. "Captain" (eventually "Colonel") Swain would figure significantly in Rodgers' professional career years later.
- 14 *Illustrated Handbook*, p. 14.
- 15 *Southern [Railway] News Bulletin*, December 1928, p. 3.

- 16 Other sources sometimes spell the name "Talmadge." It is spelled both with and without the d in Meridian city directories of the day, in newspaper accounts, and on public records. Queries to the family have left the question unresolved. On the theory, however, that if anyone should have known the correct spelling, it would have been his father, I have chosen to follow the form used by Aaron.
- 17 In a similar vein, there is the cherished story of little Jimmie begging milk from railroad restaurants to go with the cereal he'd "borrowed" around town. It was the kind of prank he came to be known for in his teens, but hardly something he had to do for nutrition. According to a lesser-known version, the incident took place on the farm, and it was sugar rather than milk that he was given, by a neighbor whose cows he sometimes tended. This account seems more credible, for Jimmie was rarely around the railyards as a child, and the Rodgers family, like most others in that time, regularly kept its own milk cows (Aaron's letter to Tal mentions their "yearlings").
- 18 Carrie Williamson Rodgers, *My Husband, Jimmie Rodgers* (San Antonio: Southern Literary Institute, 1935), pp. 6, 8.
- 19 Determined from the postmark of the envelope; the letter itself is undated.
- 20 The combination of camera and needle was a clever one, ingeniously appropriate to an age fascinated with the gadgets of fledgling technology and the inventions of "modern science;" the Gallery not only did a brisk business in "the mug trade"--portraiture--but enabled the enterprising Tuggles to advertise a "measuring System" which was, to say the least, highly unique: "We take a photograph of each customer which gives us the exact form and enables us to insure an absolute fit."
- 21 Jerry Silverman, *The Folk Blues* (New York and London: The MacMillan Co., 1958), p. 9.
- 22 John Greenway, quoted in *The Country Music Story* (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1966), p. 58; and Greenway, "Jimmie Rodgers--A Folksong Catalyst," *Journal of American Folklore*, 70:277 (July 1957), 232.

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A PRELIMINARY VERNON DALHART DISCOGRAPHY. PART XXI: BRITISH RECORDINGS

I Lest readers fear we have abandoned our continuing Dalhart discography, we offer here the 21st installment: recordings made in London. The information was provided by Brian Rust and forwarded to us by David Crisp.

1 April 1931. Petty France studios, Buckingham Gate, London.

AR 593-1	The Runaway Train	Regal MR346, Regal Zonophone MR 3817; Regal and Regal/Zonophone (Aust.) G21106
AR 594-1	River Stay Away From My Door	Regal MR 332
AR 595-1	Get Away Old Man Get Away	Regal MR 346, Re Zo MR 3817; Re and Re Zo G21106
AR 596-1	It's Time To Say Aloha To You (with Adelyne Hood)	Regal MR 332

2 April 1931.

AR 597-1,2	When the Bloom Is on the Sage	Rejected
AR 598-1,2	Mountains Ain't No Place For Bad Men	Rejected
AR 599-1,2	Rock Me To Sleep in My Rocky Mountain Home	Rejected
AR 600-1,2	Rabbit In the Pea Patch	Rejected

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SONS OF PIONEERS ALBUM AVAILABLE ON 8-TRACK CARTRIDGE

A limited quantity of the JEMF Sons of the Pioneers (LP 102) album is available in 8-track cartridge configuration. The price is \$5.50 each to members of the Friends of JEMF; \$6.50 to all others. Please write to the JEMF for further information.

RAY WHITLEY'S TRIBUTE TO FRANK LUTHER

By Gerald F. Vaughn

[Little has been written about Frank Luther, who was, after Vernon Dalhart, perhaps the most prolific recording artist of country music in the 1920s and 1930s. Here Gerald F. Vaughn, past contributor to JEMFQ, has gathered some reminiscences of former movie star and cowboy singer, Ray Whitley, who was for many years a close associate of Luther.]

One of country music's most prolific and talented artists in the 1920s and 30s was Frank Luther, the incomparable singer of many voices and many names. Frank was not yet at the peak of his country music career when, around 1936, he left the field to become the world's leading maker of children's records. Had Frank remained in country music, evidence and opinion suggest. . . as in Ray Whitley's words. . . that "Frank might have approached Gene Autry as the dominant performing influence for the next quarter-century."

Ray Whitley, an established figure in country music in his own right, has had the distinction of working with Gene Autry--whose performing ability knew no equal--and also with both Fred Rose and Frank Luther who were among the foremost artisans in country music's history. From these associations and the vantage point of observing country music's development during the past fifty years, Ray is singularly qualified to discuss Frank's contributions and place them in perspective.

"Frank would have become to country singing, technically speaking, what Fred Rose was to country songwriting," Ray feels. Frank, like Fred, was more than a country artist alone; each was formally trained and widely experienced in many types of music. Both men possessed uncommon genius and craftsmanship, which they applied to country music with consummate skill.

Born Francis Luther Crow in 1900, Frank was reared on a farm near Hutchinson, Kansas. He early recorded with his real name, including duets with brother Phil. He became famous, of course, with the shorter Frank Luther. By the mid-1920s he was a well known concert and radio singer and had toured abroad.

Suddenly Frank was stricken with a throat ailment, which resisted cure and threatened to curtail his career. His voice recovered only gradually, and for a time all he could get was club bookings.

Meanwhile, country music was gaining popularity through the records of singers such as Vernon Dalhart and Carson Robison. Frank was struggling to resume his career, and country music seemed a fertile new field. Moreover, it had a natural appeal to his rural upbringing.

Frank's voice now largely restored, he teamed with Carson Robison as "Bud and Joe Billings" on records from 1928 to 1932. Carson, or "Robbie," had worked with Dalhart from 1924 to 1928; together

they had launched America's love affair with country music, especially in reaching urban audiences.

Frank and Robbie recorded under various names, which were only a few of the many pseudonyms that record companies assigned to Frank. Frank's ability to change his singing style to blend with any partner, or even to sound different from solo to solo, add to the confusion of record collectors and researchers trying to identify his recordings with pseudonyms.

Among the numerous pseudonyms and appellations used on Frank's recordings were: Bud Billings, Bud and Joe Billings, Bud Billings Trio, Jimmy Black, Black Brothers, Francis Luther Crow, Francis Luther, Frank Crow, Tommy Wilson, Frank Evans, The Revelers, The Highhatters, The Men About Town, Jimson Brothers, Jones Brothers, Lazy Larry, Frank Luther, Frank Luther Trio, Carson Robison Trio, Buddy Spencer, Buddy Spencer Trio, Frank Tuttle, Pete Wiggins, Weary Willie, Frank and Buddy Ross, and the Homespun Trio. Some of these designations were assigned to Vernon Dalhart and others at times. . . more confusion.

Frank's wife Zora Layman often recorded with him and Robbie and also solo. As the Carson Robison Trio and other names, they did some of the loveliest three-part harmony ever recorded, as were some of the duets by Frank and Zora. Zora's recordings may be found under such names as: Zora and the Hometowners, Rosina Lawrence, Zora Layman, Zora Luther, and The Lawrence Quintet.

Frank's recording output was incredibly vast. He often recorded on several labels simultaneously, doing sessions for first one company, then another, all in the same day. Also exceptionally active in radio, he is reported to have done as many as 23 records and four radio broadcasts in a single day.

One year Frank recorded 530 sides. . . almost as many as busy artists such as Gene Autry or Elton Britt did in a career. Frank's recordings had reached nearly 2,700 by 1946 and are believed to total around 3,000, including the children's records that became his specialty after 1935. He had recorded 950 sides for Decca alone by 1951. His records have been marketed throughout the English-speaking world, with sales reaching into the millions.

Frank and Robbie were eminently successful

recording together from 1928 to 1932. When they ceased as a team it was an entirely friendly parting, with each encouraged that the time was right for larger individual success. In 1933 their competition was reduced when Dalhart virtually stopped recording and Jimmie Rodgers died. The impact of young Gene Autry, who eventually carried country music to unprecedented heights of popularity, was only beginning to be felt.

Frank, Zora, and Leonard Stokes were a trio in 1933-34 on recordings and radio. The trio was featured each week on NBC's "Heart Throbs of the Hills" radio series, created and written by Ethel Park Richardson. This memorable series consisted of original dramas built around beloved country or folk songs.

At this point enters Ray Whitley. In 1933 Ray was a construction worker turned country singer. With Frank Luther and Tex Ritter, Ray was one of the pioneers of modern country music in New York City. Ray is well remembered of course as composer of Gene Autry's classics "Back in the Saddle Again" and other top hits. Ray introduced the renowned Fred Rose to country music around 1940 and collaborated extensively with Fred in song-writing.

Ray was highly versatile, his contributions multi-faceted. A singing cowboy in the movies, recording/radio/TV artist, he was extremely active in personal appearances. . . second only to Tex Ritter at one time. Ray also found time to manage the Sons of the Pioneers and Jimmy Wakely. He invented the Gibson SJ-200 guitar, the "king of flat top guitars."

In 1933 Ray had a radio program on New York City's WMCA, was singing regularly at the Stork Club, and with his band was featured at the Madison Square Garden world championship rodeo. Zora Layman also was a featured singer at the rodeo, and here she and Frank met Ray. Zora and Ray sang together at rodeos on occasion.

One of rodeo history's most memorable acts involved Frank, Zora, and Ray. This was the moving "End of the Trail" saga performed by Hardy Murphy and his trained horse Buck. This was a drama of a horse's giving his life to save his master out on the plains. As the saga reached its climax, Zora (accompanied by Ray on guitar) would sing "His Last Long Journey Home". . . a poignant lament written by Frank especially for Hardy and Buck. So beautifully and tenderly was this drama done by horse and master, to the music of Frank, Zora, and Ray, that the crowds of 15,000 often came to their feet in standing ovation as it ended.

At the Stork Club Ray became the favorite of celebrities such as Will Rogers and Wiley Post. Carson Robison, Curt Massey, and other country music notables including Frank and Zora, would come to hear him too. Frank was a physical fitness buff who had daily gym workouts, seldom if ever smoke or drank, and rarely socialized. However, he and Zora would come to the Stork Club to enjoy Ray's performances.

Ray was friendly with both Carson Robison and Frank; Ray and Robbie were chatting one day in Robbie's office when Frank came in. Robbie and Frank had offices in the same New York City office building and were frequently together, remaining close friends though no longer recording as a team. Ray recalls the events that made him part of the Frank Luther Trio:

Robbie and I were talking. Frank dropped by, and in the course of conversation Robbie said to him--'Frank, you're looking for a lead singer for the trio. . . have you thought about Ray? . . . he has the kind of strong gutsy voice that would blend well with yours.' Frank and I tried a few pieces there in Robbie's office. He liked our sound and offered me \$50 I believe per session to record with him, which I gladly accepted.

Frank was a tenor and Ray a baritone. Matching Ray's untrained country voice as lead with Frank's concert-ready voice on high harmony maybe was an unlikely combination, but Frank correctly perceived that the blend would be excellent. As listed in the discography, Frank and Ray recorded 11 known sides at six sessions for the American Record Company in New York City, between January and July 1934, with ten issued.

The Luther/Whitley duets were well received, and when Frank left ARC to become a Decca artist ARC began recording Ray under his own name. In 1935 Ray joined the Decca ranks as well. Ray believes that he and Frank may have recorded other songs (particularly "Rain" and "Grandfather's Clock"), but no information has been found in ARC or Decca data to confirm this. Perhaps these additional songs were recorded for another company or were on transcription.

Though issued under the name of Frank Luther Trio or Buddy Spencer Trio, Ray and Frank did only duets together. Their renditions of "In the Valley of Yesterday" and "The Old Spinning Wheel" should be in everyone's collection as representative of the finest music of that era. Without exception their other recordings also were delightful.

Ray describes rehearsing and recording with Frank:

Frank was a perfectionist who knew exactly what he wanted on each song we recorded. He had the ability to select marvelous songs, musicians, and arrangements. . . he A & R'd our sessions.

We'd rehearse considerably. . . lengthy rehearsal, and try to get it perfect the first time. Frank's throat would bother him sometimes, and we'd do only one or two songs at a session.

I can't be real specific about the personnel on my ARC sessions with Frank, as I recorded later with Odis Elder and also solo for ARC. But in general Frank

and ARC provided simply the best musicians. Roy Smeck would play steel guitar and sometimes mandolin. The Mitchell Brothers, John and Bill who with Bill's wife Pearl were Carson Robison's Buckaroos, usually played banjo and/or mandolin. Bob Miller, the gifted songwriter and pianist, played piano on some of my ARC sessions, including a few with Frank and me I think. Bob wrote several of the songs we recorded. I can't recall who played the violin and bass; they were staff musicians as I recall and very good. I played rhythm guitar. Frank could play a number of instruments like the Jew's harp, concertina, harmonica, and celesta I believe, so when you hear some of these sounds on our records it often was Frank. . .he also could play piano and basic guitar. Another fellow who worked on some of our sessions was named Van something, from Norway or Sweden, on steel guitar.

Frank had a nice flair for comedy. . . a lot of his records and his movie shorts were full of comedy. He'd lighten our records with some 'de-dum's' or other vocal effects along that line.

He preferred rather simple accompaniment, but his insistence on intricate arrangements and accomplished musicians. . .even if playing only a few instruments. . .gave our records the sound of better orchestration than was typical of most country records at that time.

Working with Frank was very much a pleasure and privilege. He's a real nice guy, truly professional. He opened the door to my own recording career, and he taught me many things. . .the fine points of harmony and phrasing, the importance of rehearsing (which many country artists neglected then and now), and the value of taking care of oneself physically.

I didn't record with Zora, just sang with her at rodeos, but Zora also was very nice. She had lots of talent and ambition too. . .like Frank.

Before Frank moved into children's records, he had a fine though too brief movie career in which Ray participated. Among the half-dozen or so musical comedy short subjects, plus one full-length feature, that starred Frank in the mid-1930s, three pertained to country music. These were "Mountain Melody," "Rodeo Day," and "Hillbilly Love" (1934/35). Ray reminisces about them:

Frank asked me to work with him in two or possibly three of his one-reel shorts. [Author's note: Ray definitely was in "Rodeo Day" and "Hillbilly Love" and probably in "Mountain Melody."] These were 10 or 11-minute shorts, made over at Educational Pictures studio in Astoria, Long Island, in New York. Al Christie, who made many popular

silent comedies, was the producer on these sound movies, which were released to theaters through 20th Century Fox. My memory about their details is pretty fuzzy, but I saw a print to 'Hillbilly Love' recently and was delighted to see Frank's fine stage manner again. When he sang before the cameras or before an audience, he had a most endearing manner. In that movie, I wore a beard and sang "Open Up Dem Pearly Gates" with Frank. I sang one solo, "My Blue Ridge Mountain Home," and was part of the story and comedy. . .a loaded cigar blew up in my face at one point. Elton Britt and Zeke Manners also were in that short. Elton, Zeke, and I were working with Tex Ritter then on the WHN Barn Dance. Frank did several solos in the short, all of them beautiful. To see and hear him sing "Oh, I'm Lonely Tonight For My Blue Eyes" was a grand treat; he sang with such feeling.

The zenith of both Frank's and Ray's careers was yet to come. Ray's later fame has already been noted. Frank's career was monumentally changed after 1936 by an album of Mother Goose nursery rhymes he recorded. This album was welcomed with such unexpected but avid enthusiasm, by children, parents, and professionals in child development, that Frank enrolled in New York University and became a serious student of the uses of recorded music in education and therapy, with emphasis on the needs of children. He devoted himself almost entirely to making children's records thereafter, and over the next decade about 85 percent of all children's records sold in the United States were recorded by Frank, in addition to sales in Great Britain, Canada, and Australia.

Frank was a master story-teller. Ray recalls an instance when Frank visited the Whitley family while Ray was appearing in New York at a rodeo in the mid-1940s:

My little daughter Judy had a jacket with beautiful pink pearl buttons. Frank noticed the buttons and, sitting Judy on his knee, made up the most wonderful story for her about what made the oyster blush and the pearl turn pink!

Frank was the second artist signed by Decca (1934) and eventually became the Decca Executive in charge of children's and educational records, sacred music, Americana, records to teach foreign languages, and talking books. He wrote the highly-acclaimed book *Americans and Their Songs* (1942), lectured widely, had successful children's shows on radio and television, and also gave children's shows on personal appearance tours.

Zora collaborated with Frank on a number of the children's records and related endeavors. However, they never lost their love for and identity with country music. When in later years they recorded Americana material (such as the songs of Stephen Foster and Civil War songs of the North),

their special touch and feeling for country music were delicately applied. Frank and Zora, who had been married since 1926, eventually were divorced and each re-married.

Frank remained a Decca executive until retirement a few years ago, but he continues to be exceedingly active as a music and communications consultant officed in New York City. . .and sings well even today. Ray too is retired, in Granada Hills, California, but frequently accepts invitations to reunions of stars in country-western music and western movies; he is a magnificent emcee also.

Ray is an analytical person and assesses Frank's career in this way:

Frank was perpetuating and expanding the Dalhart/Robison influence but bringing to it his own special creativity. Frank had not reached his peak of creativity in country music when he shifted to children's records. Had he remained in country music and continued to refine and broaden its appeal to all segments of the population as

he was doing, he might have rivalled Gene Autry as the major country music personality of his era.

Of course Gene was so much more than a country singer, and his enormous talents enabled him to achieve greatness in all phases of show business, not only in radio and recordings. I doubt that Frank or anyone else could have matched Gene. Still we saw only the first fruits of Frank's efforts, and it's hard to predict how far he might have gone in country music.

Frank's inherent will and desire to do good in the world was largely responsible for his success, I feel. When he was in country music, he wanted to get across a message or sing in a way that would make people happy. . .either entertain or uplift them. When he saw the opportunity to use his talents to help children, this was made to order for him. He's a genuinely fine man and an extraordinary talent.

Appendix: Discography of the Frank Luther Trio with Ray Whitley

Master Number	Recording Date	Title (Composer)	Label and Serial Number
14700	26 Jan 1934	Swaller-Tail Coat (Bob Miller)	Me 12993, Pe 12995, Ro 5327, Or 8327, Ba 33034, Cq 8284
14701	26 Jan 1934	The Last of the 21-Year Prisoner (Bob Miller)	Me 13230, Pe 13083, Ro 5398, Or 8398, Ba 33263, Cq 8395
14720	29 Jan 1934	The Old Spinning Wheel (Billy Hill)	Me 12929, Pe 12978, Ro 5306, Or 8306, Ba 32979, Cq 8272
14871	28 Feb 1934	In the Valley of Yesterday (Johnson-Gifford)	Me 12960, Pe 12985, Ro 5314, Or 8314, Ba 32999, Cq 8284
14873	1 Mar 1934	Wagon Wheels (Hill-DeRose)	Me 12960, Pe 12985, Ro 5314, Or 8314, Ba 32999, Cq 8283
14874	1 Mar 1934	The Tree That Father Planted For Me (Billy Hill)	Me 12993, Pe 12995, Ro 5327, Or 8327, Ba 33034, Cq 8283
15396	6 July 1934	In a Little Red Barn On a Farm Down In Indiana (Young-Schwartz-Ager)	Me 13082, Pe 13020, Ro 5357, Or 8357, Ba 33115, Cq 8389
15397	6 July 1934	Buffalo Range (Bob Miller)	Me 13082, Pe 13020, Ro 5357, Or 8357, Ba 33115, Cq 8389
15415	11 July 1934	Clyde Barrow and Bonnie Parker (-)	Unissued
15416	11 July 1934	The Little Grey Church in the Valley (Bob Miller)	ARC 5-12-63, Cq 8585
15417	11 July 1934	The Old Family Doctor (Bob Miller)	Me 13230, Pe 13083, Ro 5398, Or 5398, Ba 33263, Cq 8395

BRADLEY KINCAID'S FOLIOS

By Archie Green

The two previous issues of the *JEMF Quarterly* included a detailed biographical sketch about Kentucky balladeer Bradley Kincaid as well as a checklist and discography of his many songs. The sketch by Loyal Jones, the song list by Jones (supplemented by data from D. K. Wilgus and Norm Cohen), and the discography by Cohen will soon appear in a book. My graphics feature on Kincaid's set of published song folios is intended to complement Jones' contribution. Assuming that readers have access to back issues of the *Quarterly*, I shall not recapitulate Bradley's story here. Instead, I shall focus on the folio sequence itself and attempt to note its significance.

No comprehensive account is available which describes the history of the commercial publication of folk-like music within the United States. We can cite many descriptive terms for various forms of printed American music: sheet music, piano folios, pocket-sized and paper-bound songsters, camp-meeting hymnals, minstrel-stage and comic songbooks, sentimental garlands, standard folksong anthologies. However, we lack a single tag to cover the booklets and folios--diverse in content and form--issued by early folk-rooted radio and recording artists. I refer here primarily to Anglo- and Afro-American hillbilly and race record musicians who together drew both on traditional and popular sources.

Pioneer old-time and blues recording artists knew of the existence of songbooks (in various formats) which had preceded by more than a century their own studio appearances in the 1920s. Obviously, these performers desired to issue their own songbooks when such publications seemed profitable. Accordingly, a musician who wanted to hawk his own booklet or pamphlet had but to go to any local printer and write out or recite his song texts. If music was desired it was necessary to go to a more expensive printer with special skill and equipment.

An example of one of the earliest printed booklets by a performer steeped in folk tradition can be mentioned here. Dick Burnett, a blind Kentuckian, began touring the South about 1908. Within a year of the sinking of the Titanic (14 April 1912), a local printer in Danville produced a tiny six-song (texts only) pamphlet for road sale by Burnett. His recording career began in 1927. Hence, his songbook preceded his first disc by some fifteen years.

In contrast, Bradley Kincaid, (born 13 July 1895) in Garrard County, Kentucky, at the Cumberland Mountains' edge), had already become an appealing singer on Chicago's radio station WLS before he issued his first booklet in the spring of 1928. Loyal Jones has described the setting. Kincaid had gone from traditional Southern Highland society to army duty in France during World War One, as well as to high school (starting 1914) at Berea, and YMCA work in Kentucky. Kincaid enrolled in 1924 at Chicago's YMCA College; a few years later as a member of a Y quartet he appeared on WLS. This led to the Saturday night National Barn Dance (NBC) in which he presented his widely popular "Barbara Allen" and other ballads. Specifically, Bradley issued his first booklet in response to radio fans who wanted the words of familiar songs. Radio--one of the prime instruments in modernizing American life, in breaking distance, and in shaping a national culture--also served new urban dwellers to remind and recall nostalgically their birthplaces and early beliefs.

In six printings Kincaid's first booklet sold more than 100,000 copies, helping to set standards for folk music, then novel on the air waves. Apparently, Kincaid made the sole profits on his initial booklets, but at some time, about 1930, agreed to split profits evenly with station WLS. Appended to this feature is a chronological checklist of all Kincaid songbooks known to me. In summary: the first five booklets were small and the remainder were large or folio sized. At times the term "folio" applies broadly to any kind of a songbook; at other times it is restricted to publications, about 9" x 12" in size, holding texts and tunes. Interestingly, only Bradley's twelfth book, published by Peer International, carried the word "folio" on the cover.

All of Kincaid's booklets and folios contained music. For the booklets his wife, Mrs. Irma Forman Kincaid, a graduate of the Oberlin College Conservatory, arranged simple melodic lines. For the folios she prepared more extensive piano accompaniment and guitar chords. I assume that her work was supplemented in several books by New York transcribers at Southern Music and Peer International (sister firms) who published folios eight and twelve. One of the warmest features of all the Kincaid songbooks was his sharing of credits in commentary and photographs

with his wife Irma.

Kincaid's songbooks were not only sold to radio fans, by mail order, but were also sold directly (and autographed) in personal appearances at schools, fairs, theaters, tent shows, and other public stages. The first Kincaid folio to carry a price tag on the cover (50 cents) was the sixth. In it Bradley mentioned that a few copies of the previous five were still available at half-price or 25 cents each. I do not believe that any of the folios, including the De Luxe Edition, ever sold at more than 50 cents when the books were still in print. After World War Two, I was able to buy a number of then out-of-print Kincaid songbooks at \$2.00 each. Recently, some private collectors have paid up to \$20.00 a book to complete their holdings.

What is the value today of obtaining a full run of Bradley Kincaid songbooks? No two collectors or librarians will agree on a simple answer. I find his booklets and folios significant because, collectively, they display shifts in the perceptions of traditional performers accommodating to show business forces. In this sense, the Kincaid series illustrates the interaction of traditional norms and popular culture pressures. Quite apart from this large meaning, Kincaid in two decades issued thirteen publications--more than the Carter Family, more than Jimmie Rodgers, in fact, more than any major hillbilly star of the 1920s-1930s. The sheer number of Kincaid issues made for a profusion of songs, photos, commentary, anecdotes, and messages.

In the Foreword to his first booklet, Kincaid laid down a line from which he never departed. Mountain songs came from "a people in whose veins runs the purest strain of Anglo-Saxon blood. . ." Although careful scholars today do not assert Teutonic ancestry for American balladry, Kincaid's view was a key intellectual assumption in the discovery of Appalachian folksong between 1900 and 1925. At times, teachers in Highland schools (and elsewhere) talked also about "pure Elizabethan" song and speech isolated in mountain coves. This is not the place for a dissection of Anglo-Saxon or Elizabethan symbols in American life, whether perpetuated by Harvard rhetoricians or mountain settlement school teachers. I wish only to note that Kincaid, a traditional balladeer who became a highly successful radio and recording artist, was caught up by this current.

Kincaid's second booklet held an introduction by John F. Smith, Berea's professor of rural sociology and a ballad collector in his own right. Smith made a useful statement about folksong ideas to which Bradley had been exposed. The introduction also commended him for preserving choice folksongs "in a volume which thousands can afford to purchase." If the substance of some of Professor Smith's ideas is now dated, his democratic impulse to spread and share mountain treasures is refreshing. In a current evaluation, Professor D. K. Wilgus makes the point that Kincaid as a "purist" carefully distinguished between traditional ballads,

old-time material (parlor songs), and recent compositions. Further, he was conscious of his dual role in popularizing folksong for new audiences and in helping traditional performers to keep old songs alive.¹

Book Three included a fine account of "Bradley's Annual Quest for Old Songs." Reproduced here is a photograph of Kincaid and George "Shortbuckle" Roark swapping songs at Manchester, Kentucky. Roark is known to folk enthusiasts for the excellence of his Library of Congress field recordings in the late 1930s. Other photos of mountain farms, hanging bridges, log cabins, and porch fiddlers combined to establish the setting "off the beaten trail" within which Bradley had learned his music as well as the setting within which he and other collectors worked to rescue a people's heritage.

In the shift from booklet to folio size during 1934, Bradley gradually diminished the references which marked his role as a Berea graduate and a serious collector of folksongs. Whereas his earliest booklets held material almost entirely from his family repertoire (including a number of ballads in the Francis James Child canon), his latter folios included recent compositions and material obtained from fellow entertainers such as Scotty Wiseman, Doc Hopkins, and Grandpa Jones. In part, this widening of the circle for song sources can be marked graphically by contrasts in selected photographs. Early shots of Kincaid showed him in suit, tie, and glasses--reflecting YMCA employment. "Middle period" shots showed him informally as "The Kentucky Mountain Boy" dressed in open, checkered shirt, playing his "Houn'-Dog" guitar. These photos seemed to be favored by Bradley and were used extensively.

For the cover of Peer's Folio Twelve, Bradley was slicked up as a cowboy, from Stetson to star-embossed boots. I do not mean to suggest a downward progression from YMCA secretary to stage cowboy. The music industry in the 1930s used cowboy trappings positively to offset hillbilly stereotypes. Kincaid himself was one of the earliest old-time artists to react against this pejorative label. In his third booklet he wrote to his radio friends that mountain ballads were true American folksongs fully as distinctive as Negro spirituals. Responding to wide popularity for hobo, jail, and occupational material, he stated, "There is a practice among recording companies, and those who are inclined to speak slightly of the mountain songs, to call them Hilly Billy songs." Bradley was more critical of the image than of specific hillbilly songs as such. He recorded and sang on the air a variety of cowboy, coal mining, and related songs. His aversion to negative symbols can be seen as part of the response by Berea staff members and their peers to the forces of industrialization altering mountain life in the very years when Bradley Kincaid was becoming a radio star.

INTRODUCTION

In these days of made-to-order music it is refreshing to be able to hear the songs that come direct from the soil and which still lie close to the hearts of the singers. The hopes, the disappointments, and much of the life of a large portion of the people of the rural Southland are reflected in the songs which may be heard echoing back and forth among the fields and groves of that great region.

Many of these songs and ballads were brought by our pioneer forefathers from their homeland across the sea, where they had long been sung as an expression of the souls of a rugged people. As soon as their strains reached the American shores they became acclimated and have ever since been intimately related to the social life of our own citizens.

Among them are to be found songs for all sorts of occasions. There are love songs for those whose affections have been centered upon some loved one; cradle songs for the mother who rocks her child while she attends to some household duty; skipping and dancing songs employed by the young folks who will be merry in the midst of toil; merry songs for those whose hearts become light at times and who love to express their gladness in melody; plaintive songs for those who have experienced sorrow, and religious

songs for those who love to express their adoration for sacred things in music.

These melodies are still handed down from mother to daughter and from father to son among the southern hills. Grandmothers sing them by the fireside; younger mothers sing them while mending clothes or sweeping the floors; young men whistle the tunes while going to and from the day's work, and young women sing them while doing the household chores.

These mountain ballads are songs that grew out of the life and experience of hardy Scotch, Irish, German, English and Dutch natives, who came to America because they desired freedom and the right to worship according to their own desires. Thus the outburst of song was generally from hearts overflowing with emotion. Some are joyous and carefree. Others are sad and relate a pathetic story which should touch the heart of every listener.

This effort to preserve some of our choice folk songs in a volume which thousands can afford to purchase, is to be highly commended. Both words and music

are fresh from the southern hills where life is abundant and where hearts respond readily to the gentle tones that have long gladdened the lives of the people.

JOHN F. SMITH.



John F. Smith, Professor of Rural Sociology, Berea College, Berea, Kentucky, who perhaps knows more about the habits and customs of the Mountain People than any other man in the country.



EVEN THE little children in the Kentucky hills will sing songs for Bradley Kincaid when he visits their homes, to learn more mountaineer songs. In Manchester, four-year-old

"Brother" Roark sang him a yodeling song while the whole town stood around to listen. His father and brother and Bradley played the accompaniment.



Bradley's Annual Quest For Old Songs

Since Bradley's radio friends wish 'new' old songs, he spends much of each summer searching the mountains for men and women who have in their memories the songs which the pioneers who followed Daniel Boone into the Cumberland mountains made up about the triumphs and tragedies of their daily lives. Up a long trail to a weathered cabin on the mountain's brow, where cedars scent the air, or down the rough, narrow path to the home in the hollow where winds the singing Red Bird—here, there, everywhere, the Mountain Boy of WLS

seeks for songs. Off the beaten trail, away from the traveled pike, in places hidden and obscure, may be the finest fountains of folk songs. Up at the end of the hollow, around the next knob, this side of the lick, or across the fork—there may stand a cabin with a "git-ar," a "banjer" or a fiddle hanging on the wall.

That is the cabin for which Bradley looks in his quest for the old, old songs. For there the mountaineer will welcome the Singer of Mountain Songs, and playing their instruments in time and tune together, they will trade song for song and tune for tune until the day darkens into night. Supper of fried chicken, hot biscuits, corn-on-the-cob and coffee, with sweet potatoes, or perhaps corn pone, mellows the comradeship of the afternoon; and in the evening, with the whole family gathered round and joining in, tenoring or bassing, altoing or sopranoing, as the father may say, they dig back deep into memory for the old songs that grandfather or grandmother taught them—and then Bradley finds some "new" old song—a song he is happy to bring to you in his next booklet of mountain songs.

You must be told about Sam Hurt, with whom you see Bradley in jovial mood in the picture. Sam and Bradley are cousins, and when they get together there is much talk of old times, although Sam has much more age on him than has Brad. Sam runs a little store by the side of a sideroad near Paint Lick, Kentucky. You would like Sam's store—and it is like others in the mountains. It gives the people what they need—it is at once a merchandise emporium and a civic center. And Sam is a salesman, philosopher and friend. The corn-cob pipes with which he and Bradley pose as he plays a fiddle which he made himself with a few pieces of wood, a chisel and a jack-knife, are his specialty. They are works of art, made from seasoned, selected cobs, and shaped with a jack-knife. Sam showed Bradley two big boxes of knife handles from which the blades had been worn, as he has worked during the years making corn-cob pipes that have been held between the teeth of the oldest mountain men and women, or have decked the desks of statesmen in the nation's capital. As he carves his pipes, Sam Hurt sings the old mountain songs, many

— 8 —

of them taught him by Bradley's father, the singing hunter who at the close of a fox hunt traded a hound-dog for the first guitar which he brought home to his little son, Bradley, whom he had named for Kentucky's noted Governor. From a dusty shelf, Sam took an old tablet, its pages yellowed with the years, and there, written in a fine hand, were many old folk songs, many of them credited to Bradley's father. That was a fruitful day, like many others Bradley must spend each summer so that during the winter days and nights he may continue to sing to you the oldest and best of American Folk Songs.

It is well for American tradition that a boy of the mountains is making it his life work to find these old mountain ballads, and put them into printed form. Time is passing fast. Old men and women are becoming older; their memories are failing; their lives are passing. And with them are going the old songs which have lived in their memories, which have been handed from generation to generation. Between each generation there is a loss. The mountains are losing some of their primitiveness. The children who have gone outside and have come back; the new graded pikes, reaching ever farther and farther into mountain fastnesses; the radio which brings all of the outside world into many sequestered mountain cabins—these are changing the people of the Cumberland Highlands. The old has been giving way to the new. And as that has been happening, the old folk songs have been fading into oblivion—passing away with the older folks. So Bradley feels, as he searches the hills for songs, and brings them together in these plain little booklets, and sends them out to you, that he is making a contribution to the record of American life and traditions.



— 9 —

BRADLEY KINCAID

THE KENTUCKY MOUNTAIN BOY

Folio
No.12



Love Ransom

Pioneer Singer
of
**AMERICAN
FOLK BALLADS**

BRADLEY DOING
SCRIPT SHOW
WHAM-ROCHESTER



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The Legend Of The Robin's Red Breast

15

Words and Music by
BRADLEY KINCAID AND
BLANCHE PRESTON JONES

Andante

mf Oh have you heard this stor-y it hap-pened long a-go. When Christ our bless-ed Sa-viour was here on earth be-low an ech-o thru the a-ges from dis-tant cal-va-ry. I'll tell it to you sim-ply as it was told to me. It breathes the bless-ed teach-ing of God's own hol-y word a les-son taught in meek-ness by a low-ly lit-tle bird. *Fine*

- 2 When Jesus hung in sorrow our debt of shame to pay
No one was there to comfort or wipe his tears away.
A little bird flew near him in sober coat of brown
And gazed in tender pity then slowly fluttered down.
(REPEAT REFRAIN)
- 3 With gentle wings it fanned him to cool his aching head
And hovered near his bosom all stained with deepest red
At last when all was ended as if to mourn his loss
It rose with blood stained feathers and circled 'round the cross
(REPEAT REFRAIN)
- 4 It flew away in sadness and to this day 'tis said
It wears upon its bosom that stain of crimson red
When I shall cross the valley and go to seek my rest
May I wear like the robin, God's sign upon my breast. (REPEAT REFRAIN)

Note: This describes the Mountain Legend of the little brown bird that hovered near the cross when Christ was crucified. It is believed that this little bird was Robin Red Breast, and is the mountaineers explanation of how the Robin received the red on his breast.

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Part of the process of becoming a popular entertainer in the first decade of radio's impact was very well understood by Bradley. On the air he kept fans informed of his family's growth by including in his songbooks pictures of his twin girls Barbara and Allyne, and his sons Billy and Jimmy. Additionally, the booklets and folios held pictures of fellow performers back home and on radio: for example, old cousin Sam Hurt at Paint Lick, the old hayloft gang on the National Barn Dance, Marshall "Grandpa" Jones, "Bashful" Joe Troyan. A third category included that of photos of studio announcers and station staff members associated with Bradley in various broadcast cities such as Chicago and Boston. Finally, the various biographical accounts of Kincaid were usually illustrated, adding to the sprightly yet dignified tone established by him for all his presentations on the radio, on sound recordings, and in print.

The Bradley Kincaid checklist and discography previously presented in the *JEMF Quarterly* held nearly 300 song items. This compares very favorably in repertoire with other pioneer artists such as the Carter Family, Jimmie Rodgers, Uncle Dave Macon, or Fiddlin' John Carson. I shall not single out any of Bradley's songs for special study here. Rather, I shall but duplicate two, one from the very first booklet ("Two Sisters") and one from the 1941 Peer folio ("Legend of the Robin's Red Breast") to illustrate changed format. In this commentary I have tried to assess the large meaning of the Kincaid series. Other scholars will find alternate meanings. Regardless of how we differ in interpretation, the booklets and folios together form a splendid folksong anthology for the years 1928-1948.

I salute Bradley Kincaid for his devotion to traditional folksong, loyalty to his mountain heritage, and modesty while he himself became a star. His final songbook issued after World War Two, while he was appearing at the Grand Ole Opry, commented retrospectively on his twenty years of collecting and performing ballads. Bradley knew that he was an antiquarian during his five years in Nashville, where a new and powerful form of Country Music was emerging. A dedicatory note to Berea College, his alma mater, became a kind of a personal valedictory. In it he reported his own early struggle for an education and he reaffirmed the "pure Anglo-Saxon blood" of Berea's students.

By inference, the pure of heart were destined to struggle against corrupting forces. Bradley had enjoyed popular success for two decades, but could not or did not wish to keep up with Nashville standards. His response to popular culture pressure was more complicated than that of a bold knight slaying a dragon. He enjoyed fully his material achievement, knowing that he had been prosperous even in the bleak Depression years. But despite success, he could never give up completely the notion that the old songs were special--not to be engulfed entirely by modernity. Metaphorically, the subjects in Kincaid's favorite ballads, too, were pure of heart--links to childhood, offerings to frontier antecedents, tranquil gifts to the happy America in which Bradley Kincaid deeply believed.

--San Francisco, Calif.

FOOTNOTE

- 1 See D. K. Wilgus' chapter, "Bradley Kincaid," in *Stars of Country Music: Uncle Dave Macon to Johnny Rodriguez*, edited by Bill C. Malone and Judith McCulloh (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1975), pp. 86-94.



Bradley Kincaid

TWO SISTERS



There was an old woman lived on the seashore,
Bow down.
There was an old woman lived on the seashore,
Bow and balance to me.
There was an old woman lived on the seashore
And she had daughters three or four.
I'll be true to my love
If my love be true to me.

A young man came a courting there,
Bow down.
A young man came a courting there,
Bow and balance to me.
A young man came a courting there
And he made love to the youngest fair,
I'll be true to my love
If my love be true to me.

He thought the youngest a fine fur hat,
The oldest sister didn't like that,
I'll be true, etc.

O Sister, O sister, let's go to seashore
And see the ships come sailing o'er,
I'll be true, etc.

As these two sisters walked 'long the sea brim
The oldest pushed the youngest in,
I'll be true, etc.

O Sister, O sister, pray lend me your hand
And you can have my house and hand.
O sister, O sister, pray lend me your glove
And you can have my house and land.

I'll neither lend you my hand nor my glove
For all I want's your own true love.

The miller got his fishing hook
And fished the fair maiden out of the brook.

O Miller, O miller, here's five gold rings
To push the fair maiden in again.

The Miller's to be hung on his old mill gate
For the drowning of poor sister Kate.

(I'll be true to my love is sung after every verse.)

A CHECKLIST OF BRADLEY KINCAID SONGBOOKS (Titles taken from outside covers)

1. *Favorite Mountain Ballads and Old Time Songs.*
WLS, Chicago, 1928. 7" x 6 3/4"
(Six printings: April 1928, May, November, January 1929, February, July.)
2. *Favorite Old-Time Songs and Mountain Ballads: Book 2.*
WLS, Chicago, 1929. 9" x 7"
3. *Favorite Old-Time Songs and Mountain Ballads: Book 3.*
WLS, Chicago, 1930. 9" x 7"
4. *My Favorite Old Time Songs and Mountain Ballads.*
WLW, Cincinnati, 1931. 9" x 7"
(Copyright page indicates fourth edition.)
5. *My Favorite Mountain Ballads and Old Time Songs: Book 5.*
KDKA, Pittsburgh, 1932. 9" x 7"
6. *Mountain Ballads and Old Time Songs: Book 6.*
The author, no place indicated, 1934. 9" x 12"
7. *Mountain Ballads Old Time Songs: Book 7.*
WBZ, Boston, 1936. 9 1/4" x 12"
(Dated in "A Tribute to New England Hospitality.")
8. A) *Favorite Mountain Ballads and Old Time Songs: No. 8.*
Southern Music Publishing Company, New York, 1937. 9" x 12"
(Received at Copyright Office - April 27, 1937.)
B) Folio of same title and format above expanded from 20 to 50 songs and received at C. O. -
May 3, 1937.)
C) (This expanded folio of 50 songs reissued as De Luxe Edition and received at C. O. -
January 20, 1938.)
9. *Mountain Ballads: Book No. 9.*
The author, Garden City, New York, 1939. 9 1/4" x 12 1/4"
10. (No tenth edition issued; however, Kincaid viewed his De Luxe Edition [8C] as the tenth.)
11. *Mountain Ballads: Book 11.*
WHAM, Rochester, 1940. 8 1/2" x 11"
12. *Bradley Kincaid: Folio No. 12.*
Peer International Corporation, New York, 1941. 9" x 12"
13. *Mountain Ballads and Old Time Songs: Book 13.*
The author. 8 1/4" x 10 3/4"
(Place and date not indicated. However, Kincaid in "To My Radio Friends" states that he has
been in radio more than 20 years, suggesting a 1948 date. The cover indicates Nashville as
probable place in caption "Heard Every Saturday Night on the WSM Grand Ole Opry.")

[The reproductions on p. 27 are both taken from Book 1; p. 23 shows the Introduction from Book 2 and a photo of Kincaid and the Roark Family from Book 4; p. 24 shows two pages (8 & 9) from Book 3; p. 25 shows the cover of Book 12; p. 26 shows one page from Book 12. Our thanks to the author and to D. K. Wiigus for lending us their copies of these rare folios.]

THEY LIKE TO SING THE OLD SONGS:
AN INTRODUCTION TO
THE A. L. PHIPPS FAMILY AND THEIR MUSIC

By David L. Taylor

(Western Kentucky University, Bowling Green, Ky.)

The singing family has been part of the American commercial music tradition for many years, and consequently has received the attention of folklorists interested in the open manifestation of such a strong tradition. Sound recordings of singing families are almost as old as the commercial recordings of country music itself. Bill Malone suggests that the family of the blind fiddler-preacher Andrew Jenkins was "probably the first country music family to be recorded,"¹ having their beginnings in the early 1920s. From that family came songs such as "The Death of Floyd Collins," and "Kinnie Wagner," and many sacred songs.² Jean Ritchie, from Viper, Perry County, Kentucky, has told the story of her family, perhaps one of the best-known of all singing families, in her *Singing Family of the Cumberlands*.³ More recent scholarship can be found in Kenneth S. Goldstein's study of some of the music of the family of the late Robert Beers, from the upstate New York Berkshire region, "Robert 'Fiddler' Beers and His Songs: A Study of the Revival of a Family Tradition."⁴ Perhaps the most current treatment of a family as a singing unit is found in *Sang Branch Settlers*,⁵ Leonard Roberts' collection of songs and other traditions of the Couch Family, from Harlan and Leslie Counties, Kentucky. Considering American folklorists' present recognition of the need for treatment of folklore in its natural context, studies of other singing families will no doubt soon appear.

In recent years, the practice of family singing and music-making has seen an incredible growth. It cannot be denied that the folksong revival has played an integral part in the kindling of interest in people singing as a family group.⁶ Largely through the commercial folk festival, many traditional musicians and families have been drawn into the spotlight.

Firmly entrenched in the practice of family singing as well as in the folksong revival, is the A. L. Phipps family, of Barbourville, Knox County, Kentucky. Phipps, his wife Kathleen, and usually two of their twelve children, have long been deeply involved with traditional music. This paper presents an examination of the Phipps Family and of some of their repertoire, viewing the family as conscious preservers of their conservative brand of music. The songs that they actively perform can be categorized under three broad headings. First, the religious music that they sing now comprises a

large portion of their repertoire. Included here are not only the traditional religious songs of the family and composed gospel songs of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, but also the sacred pieces which members of the family have composed, and which now function in conjunction with their traditional numbers. Secondly are the Phipps-composed secular songs which are patterned after various tragedy songs, nineteenth century sentimental parlor songs, and lyric love songs. Finally, there is that music by which the Phippses became known to most audiences outside their native eastern Kentucky. This third category is comprised of the music recorded by the Carter Family, which the Phipps Family, "among the Carter Family's staunchest admirers and their closest imitators,"⁷ emulate in most of their performances today. (A. L. Phipps prefers to think of his family as interpreters of the Carter style, rather than imitators.)

This paper concerns itself with a discussion of the A. L. Phipps Family as singers, and endeavors to present a clear picture of them as active bearers of a living tradition. Theirs is a tradition born on the first and second of August, 1927, in Bristol, on the Tennessee-Virginia border, when Ralph Peer made the first Victor recordings of A. P., Sara, and Maybelle Carter.⁸ This tradition and the Phipps Family are first discussed from an historical perspective, and the Family is shown to be affected by factors other than the Carters, although the Carters were certainly their greatest overriding influence. The recording career of the Phipps Family is examined, largely through treatment of their family-owned record outlet, the Pine Mountain Record Company. Through this business venture, the family is recognized as influencers and promoters of country music, rather than merely transmitters of that music.

When Cecil Sharp and Maud Karpeles arrived in Barbourville, the county seat of Knox County, in southeastern Kentucky, in 1917,⁹ the family of A. L. Phipps had been in that county for almost ninety years. A. L.'s great grandparents had emigrated from Wytheville Virginia, between Bristol and Roanoke,

around 1830, and had settled in a valley outside Barbourville, a valley that today is almost exclusively populated by their descendants.¹⁰ A. L. Phipps' father, James Phipps, was a singing-school teacher and Baptist minister, who spent thirty years in the coal mines, and, as will be seen, it was he who was primarily responsible for the development of A. L.'s love for music. The Phippses came from the Shenandoah Valley, an area which George Pullen Jackson recognized as being rich in the tradition of the singing school,¹¹ and James Phipps may have been influenced by his immediate ancestors in his mastery of the shape-note system of singing. A. L.'s mother, Ida Hughes Phipps, seems to have played a marginal role in his formative years, unlike the powerful influence exerted on him by his strict, disciplinarian father. A. L. remembers his father and grandfather as being very tall men, a characteristic which he ascribes to all his male ancestors: "They weren't giants, but they were the next thing to it."

James Phipps, true to his vocation as a singing-school teacher, wanted to be sure that his family was familiar with the shape-note system of singing. In order to guarantee this, he wrote in chalk the shapes and names of all the notes below the mantle on the family's fireplace. A. L. remembers, "My father, back when I was just a small child, . . . about World War I, . . . he put those shape-notes up on the arch of the fireplace. . . all the way across. I learned those notes just from the shape, just looking at 'em, and the rest of the family did the same." As with much of his music, A. L. attributes his ability to an innate sense, over which he had little control: "It just come inside of me. Nobody didn't say, 'how do you pitch it,' at all . . . This scale come in my mind."

Today the Phipps Family is able to continue as active bearers of the shape-note tradition, as Kathleen was also taught by her father-in-law following her marriage to A. L. She says, "them being a singing family, if you'd sing at all, you'd get at it." Nowadays, they have turned to collecting the old hymnals, and generally sing from Ruebush's *Star of Bethlehem*, published in 1889.¹²

Members of Kathleen Helton Phipps' family have been in the Barbourville area almost as long as have been the Phippses. Her father, Maynard, had settled in the Emmanuel community of Knox County and was a miner in the Blue Gem Mine. She recalls him as more of a whistler than a singer, and her early appreciation of music came chiefly from her mother and maternal grandmother. Kathleen's mother, Ella Matlock, was an organist and singer of some renown in the area. Kathleen remembers that on many occasions, neighbors, out of loneliness, would call her mother on the telephone to ask her to play and sing for them such songs as "Babes in the Woods," "When You and I Were Young, Maggie," "The Dream of a Miner's Child," and "When the Roll is Called Up Yonder." As is evidenced by these songs, the repertoire of Kathleen's mother included parlor songs, sacred music, and the music coming from the mining experience of the early

twentieth century. The organ was her primary instrument. (Although when Kathleen got her first guitar, she remembers that her mother learned to "chord" it, but by no means to the exclusion of the pump organ.) The significance of the guitar to the ten-year old Kathleen Helton is still vivid in her memory today. Her father was finally able to save enough from his miner's wages to make the purchase, and, "Oh, I thought I was rich. I couldn't tune it, I couldn't do a thing with it, but I'd beat and bang around on it. My cousin would come along and tune it up and I'd keep goin' to those [music] parties until I learned to play."

This period of time, of course, spanned the rise of the commercial recording industry, and since Maynard Helton had a victrola, Kathleen was influenced early by the music which she would one day emulate. In addition to learning the Carters' songs she also learned to yodel, largely through listening to the recordings of Jimmie Rodgers, and to the Carters' own "Foggy Mountain Top" and "Sweet Fern."

The meeting of A. L. Phipps and Kathleen Helton was the direct result of a custom often encountered in discussions of the singing traditions of the Upland South: the music, or singing, party. In the Knox County area, this was a living tradition which, according to A. L., flourished from the early days of the county's settlement until the beginning of the Second World War. These music parties were weekly affairs, held on Saturday nights in the homes of the residents of the area. As A. L. remembers, "Musicianers would meet together and they'd bring all their instruments together, and they'd play, sometimes all night, sometimes half of a night . . . They liked to do it, they didn't go there for a quick buck . . . They'd meet at one place this week, maybe next weekend at another place." Kathleen attributes the popularity of the singing parties to the influence of ministers' families, such as the Phippses. A. L. Phipps himself often played with the family of a Rev. Golden, who were accomplished musicians and who often joined in the music parties.

These parties are memorable to the Phippses because they offered a recreation relatively free from jealousy or anyone's attempts to claim the floor for too long. The gatherings were rich with singers and musicians. Kenneth S. Goldstein recognizes that "in a community or family in which specific songs are identified with a particular tradition bearer, other singers may shy away from performing those items out of respect for . . . the 'owner' of the songs."¹³ This feeling of ownership was evident at the music parties, where certain songs would not be sung if the "owners" were not present. This practice stands out in Kathleen's memory, especially with reference to two girls who always sang

"The Little Mohee." If they were absent from the gathering, "The Little Mohee" would go unsung.

The music party where Kathleen Helton met A. L. Phipps took place at Kathleen's grandmother's home, across Paint Hill, four miles from Barbourville. As a child, A. L. had regularly attended music parties, although today he admits to occasional ulterior motives: "Maybe you might be a-looking at one of these girls, too, now and then, [and] at about thirteen or fourteen years old, you're bigger then than you are any other time, naturally." Thus, their meeting and courtship was as much the result of the social aspect of the music parties as of their mutual involvement in the music: "Although we'd lived in the same valley, apparently we were a little bit distant from one another in the valley, but we weren't distant from one another when we got over to the music parties . . . We got to be a bit better neighbors."

As seen above, the musical influences were primarily family-bound for the early years of both Kathleen and A. L. Phipps. James Phipps and his family were, for the most part, singers and not musicians; A. L. considers himself to be an exception to the family rule: "My family wasn't so much musically inclined as they were vocally inclined. I think in my standing, that it is just actually a gift, natural-born. I can pick up an instrument; why, I can keep time on a lid." It should be noted at this time that the ability to improvise musical instruments is not unfamiliar to traditional musicians, and, further, that the use of a lard bucket lid or pie pan as a percussion instrument has been documented elsewhere.¹⁴ In going to the singing parties, A. L. remembers that on rare occasions, musicians would be scarce. Once, when an old banjo player was the only musician in attendance, the call was put out for anyone "who could do anything." A. L. responded with a lard bucket lid, and "me and that banjo player really made it!" He played the lid so much at times, that "I used to have corns almost on my knuckles." The demand for his lid-accompaniment grew so quickly, that, out of embarrassment, he stopped attending the parties until the fervor subsided.

Today, A. L. is first and foremost a guitar player, although he can play a little on the banjo. He has no desire to expand his instrumental prowess, because, "if I get to playing a lot of instruments, I just might lost the flavor of what I'm a-doin'." The beginning of his guitar playing resulted from a friend's being in an accident, which left the victim's guitar available. A. L. says that in his early guitar development he had only to know the fingering, since he "had the rhythm, had the time, I knowed where every one of them [notes] was. All I had to do was practice it."

It can be easily seen that when A. L. Phipps and Kathleen Helton were married in 1937, many of their musical influences had already become firmly established in each individual. The union served to only strengthen the influences. Their debut

was at the high school in Highsplant, Kentucky, in 1942. Other early performances by the Phippses took place in local churches and schools, and were heavily weighted with sacred music. They had decided to begin recording as early as the late 1930s, but the advent of World War II postponed any hope for this, a hope that was not to be finally realized for about twenty years.

During the mid- and late forties, they performed with A. L.'s niece, Hester. Following the war, they were not as anxious to record. "We wasn't [sic] enthused," says A. L. "We wanted to do the music, but we weren't enthused like we are now to make records and to get 'em out across the country, to the whole world. We'd started a family, and were gonna get rich quick at work." Faced with a growing family, A. L. got work with the Louisville and Nashville Railroad, a job which he held until 1963. Such an occupational move was made primarily out of a need for a guaranteed income, which music and the recording industry could not provide. This is not to say that their interest in music waned during this period. They continued to sing, but every year postponed making an entrance into the recording industry. "We had the desire to get out into the music business, do a lot of shows, but we'd say we'd do that next year, so next year didn't come. We were still right back to the same old thing, farming and working on the railroad."

The late 1940s marked the beginning of the Phipps Family's emergence into the field of commercial music. In 1949 they began to play their music on radio station WCPM, at Middlesboro, Kentucky, and eventually were given a regular program "for sick and shut-ins" each Sunday on WCTT, in nearby Corbin. During the ensuing years, they appeared on various stations throughout the southeast Kentucky-east Tennessee area, including Lowell Blanchard's "Midday Merry-Go-Round" on Knoxville's WNOX, and their hometown radio station, WYWY, in Barbourville. Their appearances on WYWY were eventually cancelled because, according to station manager Bill Carson, not enough of the family's records were selling locally, and therefore the station could not receive adequate compensation, as agreed upon. Carson attributes this to the failure of "prophets in their own land,"¹⁵ although A. L. feels that their growing recording and personal appearance demands were more to blame.

Their radio broadcasts and the church-and-school appearances continued during the 1950s. Throughout this period the family was also increasing steadily until it reached its present number in the early 1960s. Their long-held dream of releasing a record was finally realized in 1959, when they recorded two sides for Acme records: "Little Poplar Log House" and "We Shall Meet Beyond the River," the

latter of which A. L. considers to be their best Phipps-composed song. These were released as a 45 r.p.m. single in November of 1959. They are unsure of how many singles were actually sold, but according to A. L., the record was very well received on WLAC (Nashville), WWVA (Wheeling, West Virginia), and on WCKY (Cincinnati), where it was first on their local charts for three months. The reaction by these stations' audiences led in 1960 to the family's being offered a recording opportunity with Nashville-area-based Starday Records.

Their first release with Starday was a four-song extended play disc, which in A. L.'s opinion, the company promoted well. The national response was encouraging enough that Starday asked the Phippses to record a long-playing album. This album was eventually titled *The Most Requested Sacred Songs of the Carter Family* (Starday SLP 139; Pine Mountain PMR 139) and is comprised of fourteen of the Carter Family's standards, including "Diamonds in the Rough," "Keep on the Sunny Side," and "Lonesome Valley." The album cover features a two-story, presumably poplar, log house, over which the title of the album is printed, with "Carter Family" in large yellow letters. On the lower right side, toward the corner, it is mentioned that the songs are performed by the A. L. Phipps Family, although this is much smaller than the title, and seems almost to have been added as an afterthought. However, in the liner notes, Don Pierce, then manager of Starday, lauds the Phippses, saying that they are "dedicated to the mountain folk songs [sic] tradition and the sincerity and purity of their style should bring real enjoyment, worldwide, to all who truly appreciate this wonderful American music."¹⁶

They recorded two more albums for Starday, *Old Time Mountain Pickin' and Singin'* (SLP 195; PMR 195), recorded 11 April 1961,¹⁷ and *Echoes of the Carter Family* (SLP 248; PMR 248). A. L. describes the first as consisting of "folk and gospel music."¹⁸ On this album are nine songs attributed to the pen of A. L. Phipps (although at least one, "The Yellow Tomb," was composed by Kathleen), and seven listed as having been arranged by him. *Old Time Mountain Pickin' and Singin'* contains representatives of many themes of early country music: songs dealing with mine disasters, sentimental parlor songs, a lament for a wayward son, and several sacred numbers. The latter album *Echoes of the Carter Family*, contains twelve songs generally associated with the Carter Family, plus two recently-composed pieces dealing with the Carters. "A. P. Carter," is an incomplete biographical treatment of Carter, by Art Bishop and Tommy Hill, sung to the words of "Great Speckled Bird"/"I'm Thinking Tonight of My Blue Eyes." "When Mother Maybelle Played the Autoharp," by Art Bishop, is a romantic lament for days gone by when all things were better and the Carter Family was together. This album is the last one which the Phipps Family recorded for Starday, and is the only album that they ever made without a single gospel number included, a fact that A. L. darkly hints might explain why the Starday-Phipps relationship began to

sour at about this time. While the Starday albums by the Phippses had sold moderately well in the beginning, apparently the sales had dropped off, and the family found their music deleted from Starday's catalog. A. L. and Kathleen attribute this move to their customary inclusion of a majority of the less marketable gospel music on the discs.

Being dropped by Starday, of course, was a real blow to the family and to their music, not only because they felt that their music was important, but because, through their concerts, they were their own best promoters, and therefore could sell their records better than almost anyone else, thus supplementing their income. Kathleen explains, "in our work, we had demand for it, 'cause we worked with people on our tours and then people got to writing us . . . We had a demand for it, and we had to manage some way to keep copies of it."

The "way" that the Phipps Family developed to cope with this serious problem was the inauguration of a new record company, Pine Mountain, which, originally, was to be nothing more than an outlet for their own recordings. Largely, of course, they formed the company in order to guarantee themselves complete freedom in choosing and arranging the material which they released, freedom which they would not have with any other label. A. L. and Kathleen both express amazement at the success that the company has enjoyed over its almost ten-year history. As the record business grew, they found themselves in a position beyond that of performers or recording artists. They were able to actively promote their music on a fairly wide scale, an activity that will now be examined.

It is ironic that William Henry Koon's article, "Grass Roots Commercialism"¹⁹ should deal with Starday Records itself, since some close parallels can be drawn between Pine Mountain Records and the company which precipitated its formation. Both "appealed to an audience for unsophisticated country material,"²⁰ a factor obvious from a cursory examination of both companies' catalogs. Secondly, "they appealed to the vast market in the South and other lands for both gospel and sacred music,"²¹ a point which A. L. answers when he speaks of their overseas sales from Japan, Germany, and Scotland. Finally, "They recorded some performers whose styles were completely out of vogue,"²² which is perhaps the most ironic similarity of all, since because the Phipps Family's recordings and musical style were so much out of vogue, Starday had cut them from their catalog, thus leading to the birth of Pine Mountain Records.

Some other parallels between Starday and Pine Mountain are easily explained by a further activity of the Phippses in which they act the role of promoters of their brand of music.

Of the fifty-four different long-play titles listed in the current Pine Mountain catalog, only fourteen are by the Phipps Family themselves. The remainder are by other artists, such as the Blue Sky Boys, Lulu Belle and Scotty, and J. E. Mainer's Mountaineers, some of whom had originally been recorded by Starday, and, like the Phipps Family, had their material deleted from the Starday catalog. Their appearance in Pine Mountain's listings has resulted from Phipps' leasing of the master tapes from the original recording companies (such as Starday), obtaining exact copies of the masters, and then pressing and re-releasing the music on Pine Mountain, thus providing such artists as the late Charlie Monroe and Molly O'Day with an outlet for their records that they otherwise might not have had.

This practice is not one in which the Phipps Family engages for strictly monetary gain, for the cost of such necessities as album covers, labels, and pressing is considerable. Rather, they do it because they feel that the music is important, and because they hold that, "the major companies moreso [sic] goes for the big dollar, . . . they don't consider the artist at all." However, even concern for the well-being of the individual artists is transcended by the real force behind the Phipps Family and their record company: a genuine love for their music, and a concern for its future. This is best summed up by Kathleen: "I like to see the old tradition kept alive, . . . and I'm glad I could do a little to keep it going." They feel that their kind of music "goes along with the common people," and adamantly believe that "that kind of people should like this kind of music and should keep it going." Their concern in this particular vein is that there might not be enough of the "common people" left, and therefore they do their best to keep alive the music by winning new converts, although they are quick to add that they really do enjoy what they are doing, or else they would not be doing it. A. L. feels that the survival of his music is important enough that he "would like to train somebody, to help somebody learn to be a more professional musicianer, maybe than myself in this field."

The conservatism of this family is further demonstrated by the fact that A. L. considers contemporary popular music and similar trends current in country gospel singing to be in direct opposition to the older forms, and he adds that his desire to train someone would apply only to the perpetration of their kind of music, not "the other side," which he sees as, "one thing that got us out of the American type of music." It is ironic that the Phipps Family should react to new trends in music and society in such a way as to strengthen their family-musical bonds. Ed Kahn reveals that in the case of the Phippses' mentors, the Carter Family, "it is argued that the Carter Family broke up because of the changes that had taken place in society since they had begun their career. Throughout the 1930s, the area from which they came was changes. . . Rural values were diluted. . ." ²³ Rather than forcing the Phippses away from their

music, social changes in the fifties, sixties, and seventies resulted in their tightening their hold on the older, conservative values, and attempting to visably show their feelings through concerts. This attitude and the accompanying appeal to the "common people" is hardly surprising as Jens Lund recognizes. "In the United States the rural and lower classes have traditionally been hotbeds of conservatism and reaction. Their music, both folk and commercial, has constantly reflected such themes. When not overtly expressed. . . these traits have been manifested in the vocal and instrumental styles of their musical performance."²⁴

It was precisely this conservative vocal and instrumental style which led to the Phipps Family becoming known to a much wider audience than they had reached before. As noted earlier, their Starday albums and their Acme single had provided some publicity for them. As a result of this success, they were invited to perform at the 1964 edition of the Mecca of the folk-song revival of the early 1960s, the Newport Folk Festival. Although not the family's first journey to the East (they had performed at WWVA's Jamboree USA in Wheeling, West Virginia, in 1961), the trip to Newport was most important in that it introduced them to the urban folk music movement and to an audience that otherwise they probably never would have reached. A. L., Kathleen, and their oldest children, Leemon and Helen, journeyed to Rhode Island to the Festival, where they received a reception that staggered them, and, according to A. L., were kept busy at concerts and workshops all day long and well into the night. In addition to their festival exposure, the Newport experience gave them the opportunity to record for a major non-country label, the New York-based Folkways Records. Their album for this company, *Faith, Love, and Tragedy* (FA 2375), presents a cross-section on their repertoire, including two murder ballads, one Child ballad, three country hymns, two Carter-related songs, and two tragedy-disaster ballads. In the words of Bill Vernon, who wrote the notes to accompany the album, the family offers "a thoroughly personal perpetuation of a fine old mountain style of singing and playing."²⁵

Newport and New York were not the only cities that saw the Phipps Family in the mid-1960s. The same year that they traveled to Newport, they played a week-long job with WNLC, in New London, Connecticut, involving both radio appearances and concerts. In January of 1965 they performed at the University of Chicago Folk Festival, and Bruce Kaplan, who produced the University of Chicago Folk Festival (and is now with Flying Fish Records) remembers that they drew "good response from the audience . . . and received one encore at each performance."²⁶ It was here that they met folklorist Archie Green, who observes that, "revival

audiences saw and heard the Phipps Family in two lights - continuators of the Carter Family styles; Kentucky traditionalists in their own right."²⁷ The late sixties and early seventies have seen them continuing in their advocacy of old-time music and musicians. In 1973 they went on tour through Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Delaware. In 1972 and 1973 they performed at the Smithsonian Institution Festival of American Folklife, at Washington, D. C. Richard Hulan, an area coordinator for the 1973 Festival, worked closely with them and sees them as "a happy family with a pretty low-key stage manner."²⁸ He does note that they "are not the archetypical 'folk'--unselfconsciousness being one of the main stumbling blocks."²⁹

So far, this paper has presented the A. L. Phipps Family from an historical perspective, and has noted some of the early influences on their music. Their radio, recording, and personal appearance career has been considered, and they have been seen as conscious preservers and promoters of their conservative music. At this time, and to conclude, they will be discussed as interactors with their most prominent influences, the Carter Family.

The recording career of A. P., Sara, and Maybelle Carter came to an end in 1941 after an incredible fourteen-year period that "presaged new developments in Southern rural musical taste and performance,"³⁰ and saw permanent alterations in the form and style of American country music as a whole. Although A. L. and Kathleen Phipps were aware of the music of performers such as Uncle Dave Macon, the Delmore Brothers, and Jimmie Rodgers, no style had a greater effect on them than that of the Carter Family. According to A. L., they have experimented with other styles, but always return to that reminiscent of the Carters. Today, after more than thirty years of singing together, A. L. states that "we're the only people that do this thing identically."³¹

Several unusual coincidences come to mind in considering the relationship between the Carters and the Phippses. A. L.'s use of his initials is most obvious. His given name is Arthur Lee Phipps, but he claims that he began using initials while working for the railroad, and continued the practice partially because "The Arthur L. Phipps Family" would be too long to fit onto a record cover, as would be reference to Alvin Pleasant Delaney Carter. Naturally their three-part vocalization (usually with A. L. and Leemon singing bass and Helen and Kathleen adding tenor and soprano) stands out as an obvious similarity, as does the instrumental style of their music and the instruments themselves. They use at least one autoharp, an instrument which A. L. purchased for Kathleen shortly after they were married, and which is described in some of their album notes as "exactly the same kind of instrument that Sara Carter used on the Carter Family recordings."³² They may use two guitars, depending on the number of children performing with them on any given occasion, but always A. L. plays a carved-top Gibson L-5 that is tuned well below concert pitch, not dissimilar in

sound and design to the guitar that Maybelle Carter used. Occasionally a string bass is included. Both A. L. and Kathleen have absorbed much of the guitar playing style of Maybelle Carter, and the "Carter Family lick"³³ is an indispensable characteristic of their instrumental style.

The Phippses did not admire and emulate the Carters from afar. A. L. initiated the friendship by way of correspondence, and, after several letters back and forth, he and his oldest son traveled to Virginia to meet A. P. Carter in 1953. While there, Carter invited Phipps to play with him on stage in Kingsport, Tennessee, where A. L. remembers that "we done about as good as any other groups there." Thus the friendship began between A. L. and A. P. Carter, a friendship that was to last until Carter's death in 1960. Over the years, the two families visited and sang together, but never performed as a large group in a concert setting.

The reaction of the Carters to the Phipps Phippses is difficult to assess, although it needs to be discussed in order to more fully understand the interplay of the two traditions. As far as can be known, A. L. and A. P. were rather good friends, sometimes including each other in their various concerts. No outright animosity toward the Phipps has been reported on the part of the Carters, although Freeman Kitchens, President of the Carter Family Fan Club, reports rumors of some unpleasantness at a Carter Family reunion.³⁴ A. L. Phipps says that, "they've always been very friendly and nice to us, but very shy about joining in with us." As noted above, they played some together at A. P.'s home, but according to A. L., "as far as stage work, they've never showed any sign that they'd like to do that type of thing." The only cause that the Phippses can see for any resentment, if there is any, might arise from the superior recording equipment and techniques with which the Phipps have been able to record Carter Family originals. In the final analysis, A. L. can see no deep-set reason for any bad feelings from the Carters, comparing the situation to Bill Monroe and the current popularity of bluegrass music. "If Bill Monroe has said, 'No, ain't nobody gonna play my bluegrass music,' that would be stupid. And I think it'd be stupid for the Carter Family to resent us for playin' their music, 'cause they're gonna always be the bottom and the top."

With regard to the songs that make up the active repertoire of the Phipps Family, the most prevalent material is that which the Phippses now sing, but which was originally recorded by the Carters. Aside from those directly shared with the Carters, the Phippses see themselves as singers of the same kind of songs as the Carter Family. These include ballads ("Pearl Bryan," "Charles Guiteau"),

hymns ("When I Can Read My Title Clear," "The Uncoloured Day"), and, in the words of A. L., "good clean love songs" ("I Never Will Marry" "Another Broken Heart"). They also compose their own songs, and "The Wreck on the L and N" and "Forsaken Lover" sung to the tunes of "Engine 143" and "Wildwood Flower," respectively, serve to illustrate the constant involvement with Carter Family material, resulting in hybrid material from the pen of the Phippses. Their Phipps-composed repertoire includes laments for the "good old days," such as "My Home Across the Hills," and "I Like to Sing the Old Songs," tragic ballads, such as "The Yellow Tomb," relating the story of a school bus accident, and many sacred songs including "We Shall Meet Beyond the River."

A Phipps Family concert always includes representatives from all of these categories, though generally weighted with a larger number of Carter Family material and sacred songs. Roger Abrahams has noted that traditional singers might vary the content of their performance according to the audience,³⁵ but for the Phipps Family only one variation would be possible: performance for a church, funeral, or similar religious gathering would guarantee the singing of all sacred songs. Otherwise, in concert, travelling in the car, or in the home, the performance would consist of the same types of songs.

Over the years, through many performances of many songs in many contexts, some changes inevitably occur in the songs, even those as ingrained into the Phippses' minds as the Carter songs and items in their own traditional repertoire. Gerould postulated that, "the singers of ballads are quite unconscious of changing them, and yet never sing them, line by line and musical phrase by musical phrase, quite like their neighbors. There is plenty of evidence, indeed, that many singers. . . have introduced variants of their own making."³⁶ The deep appreciation that the Phippses have for their music is obvious in their expression of feelings toward alterations in the songs. Questions similar to those suggested by Wolf³⁷ were posed to A. L. and Kathleen, who answered along the same lines which Wolf predicts. They feel that ideally no changes should be made in "old songs," and in verbalizing this sentiment, A. L. provides an illuminating insight into the transmission of the old songs as he sees it. "I'm inclined to believe that the people that wrote these songs, they didn't write 'em commercially; they wrote 'em for us people several generations down, . . . I believe they'd want us to sing 'em just exactly like they'd give 'em to us. . . If I'm gonna sing "In the Sweet By and By," I want to sing it just about as I would think my great-grandfather would've sung it." Kathleen tends to agree, adding, "You just take something away from an old song when you change it." This strong feeling about the necessity to avoid alteration in traditional songs may well be a cross-cultural phenomenon, as Alfred Lord notes similar sentiments expressed by an epic singer from Yugoslavia: ". . . by Allah, I would sing it just as I heard it. . . .

It isn't good to change or add."³⁸

In addition to the fact that the Phipps Family has been undeniably influenced by the music of the Carter Family, they feel that theirs has also been an influencing role with respect to the Carter's music. It is their strong belief that their recording and performance of the Carter Family's music in a style so similar to that of the original artists has seen a direct result in the rekindling of interest in the Carter Family and in their music. They interpret this from tangible evidence, namely the many albums reissued recently from the original Carter Family masters. According to Hal Burns, there have been at least twenty-three long-playing albums released which contain either the original Carter Family exclusively, or which feature them.³⁹ It is, of course, impossible to assess the precise affect of the Phippses on the popularity of their mentors. Burns notes that the first album devoted entirely to reissued Carter Family material was in 1956 (Acme 500),⁴⁰ well before the Phipps Family began to record. Freeman Kitchens feels that the career of the Phippses did have an effect on the Carters, but is unable to suggest the possible parameters of such an influence.⁴¹ A. L. Phipps holds that following the release of their *Most Requested Sacred Songs of the Carter Family* (SLP 139), record promoters saw "that there was a market, and here come Decca, Columbia, R.C.A., and they began to release the old Carter Family. . . . We absolutely got them back in the record business." Irrespective of the actual role played by the Phipps Family in this instance, it is important to recognize that they see themselves in an active position relative to the Carter's current popularity, and are proud that they have been able to help the family whose music has played such a central part in their lives.

Finally, let us briefly draw our attention to the future of the tradition of singing in the Phipps Family. The outlook is blurred, at best. "After we pass on [I'm not sure] as to whether we have anybody else that'll come along and are interested in this type of thing in the first place, or even can do it if they are interested," feels A. L. Four of the Phipps children are singers, but play instruments as well, and two more are only singers. Their youngest child made her debut in 1975 at the Renfro Valley Barn Dance, according to her proud parents. A. L. and Kathleen Phipps have twenty-one grandchildren; only one, so far, plays the guitar. The grandchildren seem to be their real hope for the continuation of the music, since, as Kathleen admits, they "are more inclined to pickin' and singin' than our own children," who "don't have the interest they ought to have." Naturally the greatest encouragement for the grandchildren comes from their grandparents. The fact that all but two

of the Phippses' children are grown and have left the home is, of course, a grave deterrent to the continued reinforcement of the tradition from within the family.

It is hoped that these pages have provided a useful introduction to the A. L. Phipps Family, who have successfully adapted the singing style and repertoire of the Carter Family to their own needs, and now occupy a unique position in the field of commercial country music. They have been seen

to be influenced by the musical tastes of their immediate ancestors, by the music around them, and by the rise of the early commercial recording industry. And finally, they are now in a position to be active advocates for their music and to act as influencing factors and promoters of other musicians' interpretations of the music that has occupied such a crucial role in their lives.

FOOTNOTES

- ¹Bill C. Malone, *Country Music U. S. A.* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1968), p. 61.
- ²*Ibid.*
- ³Jean Ritchie, *Singing Family of the Cumberlandds* (New York: Oak Publication, 1963).
- ⁴Kenneth S. Goldstein, "Robert 'Fiddler' Beers and His Songs: A Study of the Revival of a Family Tradition," in Kenneth S. Goldstein and Robert H. Byington, eds., *Two Penny Ballads and Four Dollar Whiskey* (Hatboro, Pa.: Folklore Associates, 1966), pp. 32-50.
- ⁵Leonard Roberts, *Sang Branch Settlers* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1974).
- ⁶Goldstein, pp. 47-48.
- ⁷John Atkins, "The Carter Family," in Bill C. Malone and Judith McCulloh, eds., *Stars of Country Music: Uncle Dave Macon to Johnny Rodriguez* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1975), p. 115.
- ⁸Malone, p. 63.
- ⁹Cecil J. Sharp, *English Folk Songs from the Southern Appalachians*, Vol. 1 (London: Oxford University Press, 1932), p. xiv.
- ¹⁰The information and quotations pertaining to the A. L. Phipps Family, unless otherwise noted, were obtained from two interviews with the Phippses in their home in Barbourville, Kentucky, 18 October and 1 November 1975.
- ¹¹George Pullen Jackson, *White Spirituals in the Southern Uplands* (1933; rpt. New York: Dover Publications, 1965), p. 357.
- ¹²Jackson, p. 360.
- ¹³Kenneth S. Goldstein, "On the Application of the Concepts of Active and Inactive Traditions to the Study of Repertory," in *Toward New Perspectives in Folklore*, Americo Paredes and Richard Bauman, eds. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1972), p. 64.
- ¹⁴The phenomenon of using such items for percussion instruments is discussed in my "Carl Harney: A Traditional Singer from Muskingum County," to be published in the *Journal of the Ohio Folklore Society*.
- ¹⁵Interview with Bill Carson, Barbourville, Kentucky, 31 October 1975.
- ¹⁶Liner notes to *Most Requested Songs of the Carter Family* (Starday SLP 139; Pine Mountain PMR 139), and *Old Time Mountain Pickin' and Singin'* (Starday SLP 195; Pine Mountain PMR 195).
- ¹⁷Archie Green, *Only a Miner* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1972), p. 109.
- ¹⁸The interpretation which A. L. and Kathleen Phipps ascribe to the term "folk music" involves only those songs which are normally classified as ballads, irrespective of their age or method of transmission. Any other music is categorized according to theme: love songs, gospel music, etc.
- ¹⁹William Henry Koon, "Grass Roots Commercialism," *JEMFQ* 7 (1971), pp. 5-11.
- ²⁰Koon, p. 9.
- ²¹Koon, p. 9.
- ²²Koon, p. 9.
- ²³Edward A. Kahn, II, "The Carter Family: A Reflection of Changes in Society," Diss., UCLA, 1970, xv-xvi.

- ²⁴Jens Lund, "Fundamentalism, Racism, and Political Reaction, in Country Music," in *Sounds of Social Change*, R. Serge Denisoff and Richard A. Peterson, eds. (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1972), p. 91.
- ²⁵Liner notes to *Faith, Love, and Tragedy*, Folkways FA 2375 (New York: Folkways Records and Service Corp., 1965), p. 1.
- ²⁶Letter to the author from Bruce Kaplan, 18 November 1975.
- ²⁷Letter to the author from Archie Green, 19 October 1975.
- ²⁸Letter to the author from Richard Hulan, 6 October 1975.
- ²⁹Hulan letter.
- ³⁰Malone, p. 67.
- ³¹A. L. notes that the only singing group that approaches the Phippses' mastery of the Carter Family style is a Canadian family, the Romaniuks. However, he feels that while the Romaniuk Family is instrumentally proficient, their singing is not as close to the Carters as is the Phippses', due to the dialect differences.
- ³²Liner notes from *Most Requested Sacred Songs of the Carter Family* (Starday SLP 139; Pine Mountain PMR 139), and *Old Time Mountain Pickin' and Singin'* (Starday SLP 195; Pine Mountain PMR 195).
- ³³This distinctive style of playing is commented upon in Alan Lomax's *The Folk Songs of North America* (New York: Doubleday and Company, 1960), p. 603.
- ³⁴Interview with Freeman Kitchens, Drake, Kentucky, 19 November 1975.
- ³⁵Roger D. Abrahams, "Creativity, Individuality, and The Traditional Singer," *Studies in the Literary Imagination*, 3 (1970), 8-9.
- ³⁶Gordon Hall Gerould, *The Ballad of Tradition* (1957; rpt. New York: Gordian Press, 1974), p. 163.
- ³⁷John Quincy Wolf, "Folksingers and the Recreation of Folksong," *Western Folklore* 26 (1967), 102.
- ³⁸Albert B. Lord, *The Singer of Tales* (1960; rpt. New York: Aetheneum, 1974), p. 27.
- ³⁹Hal Burns, in *Rolling Stone*, 9 May 1974, p. 57.
- ⁴⁰Burns.
- ⁴¹Interview with Freeman Kitchens, Drake, Kentucky, 19 November 1975.



THE PHIPPS FAMILY
Hester A. L. Kathleen

Promotional photo taken during the 1940s. At this time, A. L. and Kathleen Phipps performed with A. L.'s niece, Hester. (Courtesy A. L. Phipps Family and Pine Mountain Record Company.)



Three generations of Phippses perform in concert at Western Kentucky University, January 1976. L to R: Kathleen, Donna, Karen (grandchild), Trulene Phipps Barton, Leemon, A. L. (Photo by Mary Helen Weldy; provided by the author.)

AMERICAN FOLKLIFE CENTER CONVENES CONFERENCE ON ETHNIC RECORDINGS IN AMERICA

"Since the turn of the century recording companies in the United States have been producing musical and spoken-word recordings featuring the many languages and traditions which have contributed to the American experience. The recordings, drawn directly from various ethnic groups and sold directly back to them, have both documented and reinforced the identities of ethnic cultures in the United States. Although they form a vast and important body of artistic expression, they have received virtually no attention from cultural institutions, researchers, and the general public."

These words, part of the introduction to the printed Program, framed the *raison d'être* for this, the first public act of the newly constituted American Folklife Center of the Library of Congress. The Conference, held at the Library on 24-26 January 1977, was designed to bring together scholars, activists, performers, producers, and distributors of the various types of ethnic American recordings. The mood of the event was set by the welcoming remarks by Daniel J. Boorstin, The Librarian of Congress, and the introduction to the conference by Alan Jabbour, Director of the Folklife Center. The balance of the first morning was devoted to the keynote address by Pekka Gronow of Finland titled "The Significance of American Ethnic Recordings." Gronow's broad survey, with musical illustrations, was complemented in the afternoon by Richard K. Spottswood's talk, "A Brief History of Commercial Ethnic Recordings." In contrast to these dispassionate overviews was Monsignor Geno Baroni's dynamic afternoon lecture, "The American Ethnic Experience: A Broad Perspective." Baroni, of the National Center for Urban Ethnic Affairs, painted a vivid picture of the problems of identity and identification that young Americans growing up in ethnic communities face. The late afternoon was spent in viewing Chris Strachwitz' and Les Blank's film of life and music of the Spanish speaking communities of the Texas-Mexican border region, "Chulas Fronteras." An evening concert presented Lydia Mendoza in a selection of *norteño* corridos and other songs; and a Polish Highlander band representing the Polish community of Chicago.

Tuesday was filled with a panel, "The Making and Marketing of Ethnic Records: A Roundtable Discussion with Producers and Distributors," moderated by Pekka Gronow; a panel, "From the Performers' Point of View," moderated by James S. Griffith of the University of Arizona; an historical survey, "Field Recordings of Ethnic Musical Traditions," by Joseph C. Hickerson, Head of the Archive of Folk Song; and a panel, "The Role of Music and Recordings in Ethnic Community Life," moderated by Robert B. Klymacz.

The final day of the conference was devoted to two more panel discussions: "The Wheres and Hows of Collecting Ethnic Records," a discussion by private collectors moderated by Chris Strachwitz; and "Archival Institutions and Ethnic Recordings," moderated by Norm Cohen. In the afternoon, Donald L. Leavitt, of the Music Division of the Library of Congress, gave a talk on "Preservation and Dissemination in the Library of Congress" and Alan Jabbour concluded the conference with "Assessment and Plans for the Future."

This three-day affair, in its wide variety of formal and informal exchanges, offered different revelations to different people. Perhaps the most widespread and vivid impression the participants took away with them was that their own experiences in their own particular spheres of interest were replicated in a dozen different ways. The owner of a Polish record store in Chicago had the same anecdotes to tell as did the owner of a Ukrainian record store in Manhattan; a manufacturer of recordings of Taos Indians shared experiences with the owner of a label devoted to Irish music; a community worker in Puerto Rico exchanged philosophy and advice with another in the Ukrainian community of Winnipeg.

The articulation of such goals as the stimulation of collecting of old recordings; widening public awareness; nourish the living traditions; and helping to return the musics to the communities whence they came was not done without uncovering some possible future pitfalls. How are we to foster the preservation of the old traditions without stifling the new developments? How do we nourish the notions of ethnicity without raising barriers of racism? How do we avoid the specter of confronting a community with a musical heritage that it has been trying to forget? The resolution of these difficult--but not impossible--dilemmas--will demand sensitive and intelligent policy-making by the new Folklife Center and also the already-existing agencies that have been active in these areas. All interested parties will be watching them carefully in the coming years to see how the problems are being handled.

-- N. C.

BOOK REVIEWS

COUNTRY ROOTS: THE ORIGINS OF COUNTRY MUSIC, by Douglas B. Green. (New York: Hawthorne Books, Inc., 1976). Foreword by Merle Travis, xiii + 238 pp., photos, chronology, discography, bibliography, index, \$8.95 paperback, \$16.95 hardback.

Although there have been many books dealing with various aspects of Country music published within the last year or two, *Country Roots* occupies a niche of its own, as it is the most successful attempt to date at presenting the history of Country music to a general audience. While Bill C. Malone's *Country Music U.S.A.* remains the most comprehensive history of the music, Doug Green provides an account which is intelligently-written and generally accurate, yet readily approachable by a reader with little or no prior knowledge of the music.

Without dwelling at length on any one aspect of Country music, Green surveys the field well. Individual chapters are devoted to the folk background of Country music; Old-Time music; Blues; Comedy; Singing Cowboys; Cajun music; Bluegrass; Western Swing; Gospel music; Rockabilly and Country Rock; and the Nashville Sound and current trends. The book is profusely illustrated. Indeed the photographs take up such a sizeable percentage of the book's space that the text is actually shorter than it initially appears. This is not intended as a criticism, as Green has assembled an interesting and original array of illustrations. One unique, informative and useful feature of the book is a chronology listing significant events relating to Country music for selected years from 1877-1922, and for every year thereafter through 1975.

The book is not without its problems, however. The discussion of the folk background of Country music contains numerous inaccuracies and questionable statements. How does Green know, for example, that people in medieval Britain sang ballads in a "Rhythmless. . .mournful, stiff-jawed style" (p. 5)? Or that "Instrumentalists were much scarcer than singers in those far-off days" (p. 5)? His comment that contact with black musicians is responsible for bringing rhythm to Country music as this feature was "always severely lacking in Anglo-Celtic musical tradition" (p. 9), pays little tribute to the driving music of traditional dance fiddlers. In his further discussion of black/white musical relationships, Green depicts the music of black railroad workers as totally new to mountain whites in the 1890s, yet on the following page states that "as recently as fifty years ago there was frequently not all that much difference in the music of rural blacks and whites" (p. 50). Are we to understand that between the 1890s and 1920s a single biracial style of rural music developed in the south?

Green's organizational perspective is somewhat curious. It seems odd to present such highly-developed musical forms as Bluegrass and Western Swing on equal footing with balladeers and string bands as "roots" of Country music. However, when it is understood that he is presenting the various elements which have contributed to the formation of Country music as it existed at the time the book was written, the sensibility of his approach becomes apparent.

All things considered, the book's strengths outweigh its weaknesses and it stands as a useful contribution to Country music literature.

-- Paul F. Wells
JEMF

Brothers of Light, Brothers of Blood, The Penitentes of the Southwest, by Marta Weigle (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1976), xix + 300 pp., photographs, appendixes, notes, bibliographical essay, index; \$12.95.

Students of the Hispanic Southwest should make it a point to read Marta Weigle's thoroughly researched and well documented study on the Penitentes of New Mexico. Perhaps it is our own inherent masochism that has long made the Brothers of Our Father Jesus so fascinating and intriguing with the result that too much emphasis has been placed on the group's Holy Week processions, self-

flagellation, and the simulation of the crucifixion of Christ. What is not understood is the significant, unifying role of the Brotherhood, particularly in remote, isolated communities, primarily in Northern New Mexico and Southern Colorado.

"The book germinated in Dr. Don Yoder's stimulating course on folk religion at the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia," the author states in her preface, although I suspect Dr. Weigle, like many of us, has had a long-standing interest in the Brotherhood. Ancient City Press, Santa Fe, subsequently published "a brief preliminary volume" which grew into a dissertation under Dan Ben-Amos, Kenneth Goldstein, and Samuel Armistead at the University of Pennsylvania.

Four significant studies preceeded Weigle's. The first, and probably the best known, was Dorothy Woodward's *The Penitentes of New Mexico* (originally a Ph. D. dissertation at Yale University, 1935, subsequently reprinted by the Arno Press, New York, 1974). Unfortunately the Archives of the Archdiocese of Santa Fe, used extensively by Weigle, were not available to Woodward. Fray Angelico Chavez has written extensively on the role of the Church in New Mexico's history. His "The Penitentes of New Mexico" (*New Mexico Historical Review* 29 [1954], 97-123), which proposes the thesis that the Brotherhood originated outside New Mexico, was the first serious study to utilize the archives. E. Boyd takes an opposing view in her "The Third Order of St. Francis and the Penitentes of New Mexico" (also utilizing the resources of the Archive), in her superb *Popular Arts of Spanish New Mexico* (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 1974), pp. 440-83. Weigle also cites a doctoral dissertation at St. Andrew's College, University of London, England, *Los Hermanos Penitentes: A Vestige of Medievalism in Southwestern United States* (Los Angeles: Westernlore Press, 1969) which, she suggests, "should not be relied on due to insufficient research and numerous inaccuracies." Weigle's book includes a bibliographical essay summarizing the most important materials dealing with the Brotherhood. A companion volume, *A Penitente Bibliography: Supplement to Brothers of Light, Brothers of Blood* is available (although not seen by this reviewer), "An exhaustive, annotated listing of well over one thousand items. . . [covering] virtually all available resources, from sensational, derivative stories in pulp and prestige journals to serious, sensitive historical and descriptive studies of documents and actual ceremonies. . .," according to Weigle's preface. She adds, "Hopefully, this companion volume will become the obituary for any further accounts of the Penitentes which purport 'at last' to reveal the 'truth' and report 'bloody' contemporary rites and questionable secular involvements."

The first expedition to colonize present-day New Mexico occurred in 1598, some eighty-nine years after the conquest of Mexico in 1519, under Juan de Onate and chronicled by Gasper Perez de Villagra. For the next two hundred years the province of New Mexico remained a remote province. There was a serious shortage of clergy allowing for the secularization of missions, particularly in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. This in turn prompted the development of lay brotherhoods. The earliest mention of "una Hermandad de Penitentes" occurs in a special letter from Bishop Zubiria of Durango, dated 21 July 1833 from Santa Cruz de la Canada (the letter is included as Appendix I) in which he expresses opposition to the excesses of the Brothers as a danger to themselves and a potential threat to the Church. A subsequent pastoral letter written three months later (19 October 1833) bans the large crosses and other instruments of mortification, *not* the practice of self-discipline.

The earliest history of the group is unknown. Weigle examines some of the theories: the possibilities of Indian origins, the factor of harsh frontier conditions, the possible descendance from European medieval Flagellants, the relationship between penitente rituals and religious dramas known as "passion plays," and the possible connection between Iberian *cofradías* (religious brotherhoods) and the New Mexican penitential traditions. Woodward, in her book on the Penitentes, proposed an unbroken tradition because of similarities between confraternities in Spain and Mexico. This view was revised by Fray Angelico after studying Santa Fe archival evidence concluding that the Brotherhood began in New Mexico sometime between 1790 and 1810. Weigle notes:

At the present time it is impossible to document a continuing tradition of penitential confraternities in New Mexico. Neither is it possible to point to the decline of a particular *cofradía* and the emergence of the Penitente Brotherhood from its 'ruins'. . . However, an investigation of ideas and practices associated with Franciscanism in New Mexico, particularly the long established Third Order of St. Francis, suggests a more immediate and equally likely source for the developing Brotherhood.

St. Francis of Assisi founded three religious orders, the Friars Minor, the Poor Ladies of St. Damian, and a Third Order Secular. The earliest Rule for these Tertiaries was drawn up in 1221 by Cardinal Hugolino (later Pope Gregory IX) in consultation with Francis. This Rule was later revised in 1289 by Pope Nicholas IV and the Franciscans took this concept with them as their movement spread through Europe including Spain. Woodward and Chavez reject the theory of Third Order origins in New Mexico as they feel Penitente rules do not resemble the Rule of the Third Order. Weigle concludes:

In all likelihood, the problem of Penitente origins will never be decisively resolved. Extant documentation supports no positive conclusion, either for a Third Order-Franciscan origin or for a confraternity introduced from outside New Mexico.

Brothers of Light, Brothers of Blood is divided into three principal sections with chapter subdivisions. Part I is A Geographical Sketch. In Part II: The Historical Evidence, the chapters cover: 1) The Germinal Period, 1776-1850; 2) Ecclesiastical Aspects of the Territorial Period; 3) Secular Aspects of the Territorial Period; and 4) The Brotherhood in the Twentieth Century.

In this fourth chapter, the author tells of the effects of the two World Wars as many New Mexicans, including Hispanos and Indians had, many for the first time, an opportunity to leave their native areas.

Prior to 1900 a significant majority of Hispanic males definitely maintained membership in the moradas (Brotherhood chapters) in most villages. Weigle notes that "From World War I on, mounting social and economic pressures caused members to withdraw, deterred others from joining, and generally undermined the chapter's effectiveness within the beleaguered communities. . ." She adds, "During the decades following World War I, the Hispanic population in the Southwest became increasingly urban, mobile, and poverty-stricken." Protestant missionary groups, particularly those of fundamentalist orientation, also contributed to the decline of membership in the Brotherhood. Defection from Catholicism was another factor.

There apparently was a resurgence of interest as membership did increase at various times due to an influenza epidemic and *promesas* or vows made by returning servicemen after World War I. However, E. Boyd maintains that "at the end of World War II many veterans who had enlisted as youths refused to join the Penitentes on their return home."

"The history of the Penitentes in the twentieth century is characterized by persistent adaptation in the face of profound socio-economic change and a cautious but increasing candidness," Weigle observes. "At the time of Don Miguel Archibeque's death on 16 June 1970, the Hermano Supremo Arzobispal, Mr. M. Santos Melendez, of Mora and Albuquerque estimated that there were approximately 1700 Brothers in New Mexico and Southern Colorado." She adds:

On July 25, 1974, Robert Fortune Sanchez was ordained in Albuquerque as the tenth archbishop of Santa Fe, the first prelate of Hispanic descent. Perhaps during his administration more religious men will come to feel a spiritual need for affiliation with the continuing but changing Brotherhood of Our Father Jesus. Perhaps, too, all people will realize again the faith and community which are the enduring and important legacy of the Penitente Brothers.

In Part III: Brothers of Our Father Jesus, the author discusses the Council Organizations and Council structures (Chapter 5) and The Local Moradas in Chapter 6. Here she notes:

Too often, their Lenten and Holy Week rituals have been emphasized and their year-round commitments overlooked. Although they annually commemorate the Passion of Jesus, Brothers also attempt to emulate His life by living simply and morally and by performing unobtrusive good deeds.

Weigle also discusses the economic and social implications of Brotherhood, Brothers and Their Nonmember Neighbors, Brotherhood Membership (including the process of initiation), The Relationship of Women to the Brotherhood, Officials of the Morada, Rule and Regulations of the Morada, and Practical Social Function of the Morada.

In Chapter 7, Weigle turns to The Rituals, explaining the nature and significance of the morada, the prayers, Penitential Exercises, Holy Week Observances, Dramatic Tableaux, The Death Cart, The Simulated Crucifixion, Tenebrae Services, and Funeral Rites. In one sense, it is probably the most significant chapter because of the attention given the Penitentes in sensationalized accounts. It is to the author's credit that she makes every effort *not* to de-emphasize the rituals, but rather to place them in perspective by leading the reader through the preceding six chapters.

Marta Weigle is a thorough scholar, if you will, and one with a sense of compassion for the penitente organization she serves so well in her book. Her dedication, "To Brotherhood, Community, Faith" sums up her commitment, and the Afterword, written by M. Santos Melendez, Hermano Supremo Arzobispal, probably tells as much about the author (and her respect for the Brotherhood) in two brief paragraphs as this writer has in a multitude of pages. Although he does not give official Brotherhood authorization for the publication of *Brothers of Light, Brothers of Blood*, Melendez states: "Dr. Marta Weigle is the only one to have had the courtesy of letting the Hermano Supremo review her manuscript before going to press." Considering the amount of material that has been written on the Brotherhood, their beliefs and religious practices, I find that a rather significant statement.

-- Philip Sonnichsen
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FOLK MUSIC: MORE THAN A SONG, by Kristin Baggelaar and Donald Milton, (New York: Thos. Y. Crowell, 1976), ix + 419 pp., photos, \$14.95.

The dust cover proclaims this "The most up-to-date and authoritative chronicle of traditional and contemporary folk music ever written -- 340 entries, 110 illustrations, hundreds of exclusive interviews and colorful, personal anecdotes. Some of these claims are not unjust; but it should be noted at the outset that this is by no means a chronicle, but rather an alphabetical compilation of articles, primarily about individuals, but sometimes about subjects ("ballad," "folksong"), instruments ("banjo," "zither"), events and shows ("Grand Ole Opry," "Newport Folk Festival"), and institutions ("Archive of Folk Song," "John Edwards Memorial Foundation"). In fact, its format is the same as that of *Encyclopedia of Folk, Country, and Western Music*, by Stambler and Landon (1969), the primary difference being much less space devoted to country and western music and more eclectic coverage of folk music. For example, a survey of the A entries reveals the following in the Landon/Stambler book and not in the Baggelaar/Milton volume: Academy of Country & Western Music, Rosalie Allen, Bill Anderson, Jack Anglin, Eddy Arnold, Ash Grove, Ernie Ashworth, Bob Atcher, Chet Atkins, and Gene Autry. Conversely, in the latter but not former volume are: O. J. Abbot, Doris Abrahams, Nathan Abshire, Derrol Adams, Eddie Adcock, Addington Family, Lee Allen, Eric Andersen, Alistair Anderson, Kurt Anderson, Pink Anderson, Apple Country, Archive of Folk Song, Amadie Ardoin, Arthur Argo, Don Armstrong, Frankie Armstrong, George and Gerry Armstrong, Moe Asch, John Ashby, Clarence Ashley, Mike Auldrige, and Hoyt Axton. Common to both volumes are Roy Acuff, Almanac Singers, American Folk Festival, Appalachian Dulcimer, Arkansas Folk Festival, Alan Arkin, and Autoharp.

Coverage is good, though it is inevitable that some names would be left out in such a volume. For example, one finds articles on Buell Kazee, Uncle Dave Macon, Dock Boggs, and Fiddlin' John Carson, but not Carl T. Sprague, Blue Sky Boys, Ernest Stoneman, or Wade Ward. But given the impossibility of including everyone, the subjects that are covered seem to be covered fairly well. Sometimes the authors draw upon previously published sources; in other cases, on their own interviews. Although there are acknowledgements listed at the end of the book, one might have hoped for a more clear-cut indication of what material was borrowed from other sources. More than once I ran across very familiar sentences and phrases that were lifted bodily from previous publications.

There are a few peculiarities in the method of arrangement. For example, following the entry heading, "Tarleton, Jimmie" is the note, see Gid Tanner and the Skillet Lickers. The entry immediately preceding is "Tanner, Gid," which is also followed by the same note. It turns out, then that "Gid Tanner and the Skillet Lickers" is filed under "G," although "Charlie Poole and the North Carolina Ramblers" is filed under "P." (I cannot complain about the misspelling of Tarlton's name here and in some other secondary sources, as the fault is mainly my own. In a 1966 *Sing Out!* article on Tarlton, I inadvertently misspelled his name in the title. Neither editor nor proofreader caught the inconsistency between title and body of text, and I have been haunted by this error ever since.) Why is the reader referred to Gid Tanner for information on Tarlton? Because of the statement in the Tanner article, "Other musicians who joined the [Skillet Lickers] on various occasions included. . .legendary steel guitarist Jimmie Tarleton." (Tarlton did tell us that he had traveled with a band that included Gid Tanner, but I would not assume that it was the Skillet Lickers, and he certainly did not record with them.) There are some other cross-references that, it seems to me, could have been simplified. For example, under "The Georgia Wildcats" we are told to "see Clayton 'Pappy' McMichen." Turning to "McMichen," we find the further directive, "see Gid Tanner and the Skillet Lickers." The entry on "Clarence Greene" refers us to "The Blue Ridge Mountain Entertainers," where we are hustled along to the article on "Clarence Ashley."

I would be doing authors and readers alike a disservice if I were to let these complaints suggest that my impressions of the book were entirely negative. In fact, I was not: I found many entries that offered enjoyable and informative browsing. Some articles (e.g., on Sam Hinton, Joe Hickerson, B. A. Botkin, Irwin Silber, and Kenneth Goldstein) offer information I have not seen previously in print; others provide data obtainable elsewhere only with difficulty.

-- Norm Cohen
JEMF

BLACKING UP: The Minstrel Show in Nineteenth-Century America, by Robert C. Toll (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974), 310 pp., illustrations, bibliography, index; \$12.50.

The Minstrel Show was the first wide-scale native American form of entertainment free from the criteria and values of European-based elite culture that dominated in the New World until the 1820s. Portraying a series of stereotyped black characters for an urban Northern audience increasingly interested in, yet devoid of any direct contact with, southern black culture, the minstrel show was an immediate success. The first Minstrel Show was presented in 1843 by four experienced blackface

entertainers who united their talents to create the Virginia Minstrels. Unabashedly popular in appeal, the Minstrel Show sought nothing more than to please its audience. Folk-based themes and lore--plantation blacks, Yankee pedlar, quick-thinking frontiersman--dominated early minstrelsy. But at the same time that Minstrels could sympathize with plantation lovers and condemn cruel slaveholders, they laughed at the Northern black dandies--the Zip Coons and the Dandy Jims. Though oppressed slaves were treated sympathetically, minstrels seldom portrayed a happy or successful fugitive; runaway slaves were generally repentant, longing nostalgically for their happy homes and loving masters.

As the issue of Slavery became a focal point in the years prior to the Civil War, Minstrelsy's treatment of blacks and slavery changed. After 1863, minstrels heaped invective on abolitionists, calling them self-serving hypocrites who only pretended to be friends of the blacks. Emancipation was supported only because it was a practical solution to the Northerners' problems, not because of any deep sympathies for the slaves.

After the War, Minstrelsy lost its monopoly on popular stage entertainment. Competition came from Variety and lavish musical comedy productions. To broaden their audience, minstrels began to travel more widely, expanded their acts, added new features, and moved away from black subjects. Turning to national developments, they tried to help their audiences cope with their anxieties and concerns, but being entertainers and not historians and social critics, they didn't really understand the complex forces that were transforming their lives and society, and focused criticism on only the most superficial features and striking evidence of changes. The cities were attacked, for example, as the cause, and not evidence, of widespread social and moral decay. Unable to offer a solution for the worsening conditions of society, they became increasingly escapist, turning to sentimentalism and nostalgia, longing for the simple and secure life of bygone years.

After the Civil War, blackface minstrelsy was also threatened by the increasing successes of genuine black minstrel troupes, who first appeared as early as 1855. By the late 19th century, the black minstrel show became one of the greatest opportunities for talented black musicians and artists. Many of the best black entertainers got their start in the minstrel stage: Gussie Davis, Bert Williams, Dewey "Pigmeat" Markham, "Ma" Rainey, and W. C. Handy. While white minstrelsy moved further away from plantation life, black minstrelsy returned to it, but adding to it a heavy element of religious music in partial response to the sudden popularity of the black jubilee choirs such as those from Fisk, Hampton, Tuskegee Institute, and other black educational institutions. In the 1890s, the black minstrel show began to decline, giving way to other forms of black musical entertainment.

This, in highly abbreviated synopsis, is the story of minstrelsy that Robert C. Toll has carefully put together, basing his account not only on previously published studies and autobiographies, but also on contemporary newspaper accounts, programmes, playbills, posters, jokebooks, songbooks, playlets, and sheet music that have been preserved in a handful of American libraries. His sampling included over 160 one-act farces and over 5000 songs in 140 selected songbooks. An analysis of the social content of such a widespread medium that is based almost entirely on what has survived in print is open to the charge that we have no guarantee that the survivals are indeed representative of the whole. On the other hand, there is no good reason to expect any such bias, and I think we can be reasonably confident that Toll's picture is a fair one.

Because Minstrelsy was such an important phenomenon in American popular culture, and because it impacted even such relatively late developments as hillbilly and blues traditions, it is mandatory that we have a clear understanding of the development, content, and significance of Minstrelsy. Toll's study is the first since Hans Nathan's *Dan Emmett and the Rise of Early Negro Minstrelsy* (1962), and the first, to my knowledge, that treats the social significance of Minstrelsy with such attentiveness. I recommend it highly to anyone interested in any aspect of American popular culture.

-- Norm Cohen
JEMF

JUST COUNTRY: COUNTRY PEOPLE, STORIES, MUSIC, by Robert Cornfield with Marshall Fallwell, Jr. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1976), 176 pp; paperback, \$6.95; hardcover, \$11.95.

This book is both a history and an appraisal of the past, present, and future of country music. There are now several good books available on the history of country music, and this book offers nothing new to that aspect of the music. However, the authors make some interesting points in their assessments of certain performers and styles, and though not all of their ideas are likely to gain acceptance, they are at least worthy of consideration. In her Forward, Minnie Pearl states that she never looked at country music from the authors' approach; indeed, certain aspects of the music are treated differently than in other writings.

The book begins with a chapter on "country people," the type(s) of people who sing and listen to country music. A great deal of emphasis in the book concerns the relationship of the country performer to his audience, and especially the attempts of many performers to broaden their appeal beyond the hard-core country audience. This is especially important now that country music is at a stage of its development where many of its "superstars" come from backgrounds far different from that of their audience.

The remaining chapters cover the various styles of country music, presented in discussions of the major figures in the formation of each style. Only the major figures are mentioned, but that is to be expected in a book of this size, and with few exceptions the authors' arguments are well supported. Their assessments of performers are not always complimentary: Hank Williams' religious songs are "revelations without mystery and they sound derivative." Likewise, their assessment of Luke the Drifter as "a grandstand play of empty moralistic pieties" sounds a little harsh, but it is not an unreasonable opinion. One excellent point is the virtual dismissal of the importance of "Tee-tot" (the black singer who is supposed to have taught Williams to play the guitar) as a mentor. Cornfield rightly states that Williams was good on his own, and that Tee-tot was not an influence as Arnold Schultz was for Bill Monroe. The point that Williams did not need all this hype is well taken.

Marshall Fallwell, Jr., contributes two chapters to this book, one on bluegrass, and a final chapter on "Nashville Tomorrow." The chapter on bluegrass is quite interesting, as he tries to deal with some of the performers who are not strictly bluegrass, but who are often lumped into this category. He proposes a new category which he calls "Appalachian Heritage." That is hardly the best term that he could have picked, and it is quite likely that it will not gain acceptance. However, the problem he poses is worthy of consideration. His chapter on "Nashville Tomorrow" ends with some of his picks for future stardom; it remains to be seen if his predictions will come true.

The book is enjoyable reading, and the authors make some interesting points. It is a different look at country music, and it is view worth considering. The authors have provided a feast of food for further thought.

-- Bill Healy
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BIBLIOGRAPHIC NOTES

The Journal of Country Music, V:1 (Spring 1974) includes "A Singing Cowboy on the Road: A Look at the Performance Career of Ray Whitley," by Gerald F. Vaughn and Douglas B. Green (pp. 2-16); "Some Connections Between Anglo-American Balladry and Country Music," by Philip Nusbaum (pp. 17-23); "'She's Got To Be A Saint, Lord Knows I Ain't': Feminine Masochism in American Country Music," by Barbara B. Sims (pp. 24-30); and "A Musical Analysis of the Banjo Style of Earl Scruggs: An Examination of *Country Music* (Mercury MG 20358), by James D. Green, Jr. (pp. 31-37). V:2 (Summer 1974) includes five papers presented at the annual American Folklore Society meeting in Nashville in 1973: "Folk and Popular Elements in Modern Country Music," by Patricia Averill (pp. 43-54); "Manual Formulaic Composition: Innovation in Bluegrass Banjo Styles," by Thomas Adler (pp. 55-64); "Toward a Contextual Approach to Old-Time Music," by Charles Wolfe (pp. 65-75); "'Folk' and 'Country' Music in the Canadian Maritimes: A Regional Model," by Neil V. Rosenberg (pp. 76-82); and "'We Was Just Kids Out of the Hill Country': The Case of the Buchanan Brothers," by Howard Wight Marshall (pp. 83-88). VI:1 (Spring 1975) includes "The Delmore Brothers: A Pre-War Discography," by Charles K. Wolfe (pp. 2-11); "Hillbilly Music Among the Flatlanders: Early Midwestern Radio Barn Dances," by Timothy A. Patterson (pp. 12-18); "The Fertile Crescent of Country Music," by Richard A. Peterson and Russell Davis, Jr. (pp. 19-27); and "Foy Willing and the Riders of the Purple Sage: Teleways Transcriptions 1946-1948," by Douglas B. Green (pp. 28-41). VI:2 (Summer 1975) is devoted to "'I Ain't No Ordinary Dude'--A Bio-Discography of Waylon Jennings," by John L. Smith (pp. 45-95).

Wilson Library Bulletin 50:3 (November 1975) includes "Race Records: Victims of Benign Neglect in Libraries," by Gordon Stevenson (pp. 224-232). The author briefly surveys the history and significance of race recordings of the 1920s and 1930s and comments on their present day fate in libraries and archives. (Courtesy Lisa Feldman.)

RQ, 15:4 (Summer 1976), has an article by Gordon Stevenson titled "Standards for Bibliographies of Discographies" (pp. 309-316) that discusses the problems involved in annotated bibliographic compilations of various types of discographies. (Courtesy Lisa Feldman.)

RECORD REVIEWS

FOLK MUSIC IN AMERICA, Vol 1: RELIGIOUS MUSIC: CONGREGATIONAL & CEREMONIAL (Library of Congress, LBC 1). Milledgeville Georgia Singers: *Nobody's Fault But Mine* (2 versions); Amish Singers of Kalona, Ia.: *Lebt Friedsam Sprach Christus*; Elder Walter Evans & Cong.: *Hosanna Jesus Reigns*; Lenville Ball: *The Lord Will Provide*; Brother Claude Ely: *Little David Play on Your Harp*; Stone-man's Dixie Mtneers.: *I Know My Name Is There*; Banks, Bentley, Blake, and Vosburg: *Travelin' To That New Buryin' Ground, Do You Call that Religion?*; Yaqui Indian Musicians: *Pascola Dance Music*; Austin Coleman, Joe W. Brown, and Group: *My Soul Is A Witness*; Dinwiddie Colored Quartet: *Down On the Old Camp Ground*; Rev. F. W. McGee & Cong.: *50 Miles of Elbow Room*; Cantor I. Meisels & Cong.: *Birchas Kohanim*; Allison's Sacred Harp Singers: *Antioch*; Middle Georgia Singing Convention #1: *Bells of Love*; Elder O. Jones & Cong.: *I Am the Vine*; Arizona Dranes & Choir: *God's Got a Crown*.

FOLK MUSIC IN AMERICA, Vol. 2: SONGS OF LOVE, COURTSHIP, & MARRIAGE (Library of Congress, LBC 2). Lonnie Johnson: *Love Is A Song*; Mose Platt: *That's All Right Baby*; John Okimase: *2 Menominee Flute Songs*; James Rachel & John Estes: *Little Sarah*; Jimmie Strothers: *Going to Richmond*; Bill Monroe: *Come Back to Me in My Dreams*; Lydia Mendoza y Cuarteto Mendoza: *Maria Maria*; Carter Family: *If One Won't Another One Will*; J. C. White: *Joe Bowers*; Little Buddy Doyle: *Renewed Love Blues*; Seguiria & Herbert: *Your Small & Sweet*; Carolina Tar Heels: *You Are A Little Too Small*; Alec Dunford: *Lily Monroe*; Blue Sky Boys: *Midnight on the Stormy Deep*; Emry Arthur: *The Married Man*; Sam Manning: *Emily*; Wade Mainer: *Three Nights in A Bar Room*.

FOLK MUSIC IN AMERICA, Vol. 3: DANCE MUSIC: BREAKDOWNS & WALTZES (Library of Congress, LBC 3). Seven Foot Filly & His Dill Pickles: *Kenesaw Mountain Rag*; Little Buddy Doyle: *She's Got Good Dry Goods*; Adolph Hofner & His Orch.: *Green Meadow Waltz*; Edwin Johnson Swedish Trio: *Polka from Boda/Soldier's Joy*; Booker T. Sapps, Roger Matthews, & Jesse Flowers: *Alabama Blues, Boot That Thing*; Bog Trotters: *Days of '49*; Red Headed Fiddlers: *Far [Fire] in the Mountain*; Macon Ed & Tampa Joe: *Warm Wipe Stomp*; East Texas Serenaders: *Aldeline Waltz*; Mike Enis Group: *Waltz*; Uncle Dave Macon & Fruit Jar Drinkers: *The Rabbit in the Pea Patch*; Paul, Vernon & Wade Miles: *John Henry/Cripple Creek*; Arteleus Mistic: *Belle of Point Clare*; Evangeline Band: *Acadian Air*; Nashville Washboard Band: *Old Joe*.

FOLK MUSIC IN AMERICA, Vol. 4: DANCE MUSIC: REELS, POLKAS, & MORE (Library of Congress LBC 4). Fr. Dukli Wiejska Banda: *Icek Rekrut*; Jan Wyskowski: *Polka z Tresnowa*; Ulozyl I Odegral Pawel Humeniak: *Polka Wiesmiaczka*; Bacova Ceska Kapela: *Pepicka neb Zamilovany Kuchar*; El Ciego Melquiades: *La Polvadera*; Conjunto de Maxie Granados: *Flora Perdida*; Mike Enis Group: *Polka*; Evangeline Band: *Acadian Air*; Courville, McGee, and Savoy: *J'tais au Bal Hier au Soir*; S. Bachleda & Group: *Sabolowa*; Margaret McNiff-Locke's Instrumental Trio: *Brown's Hornpipe*; Flanagan Brothers: *Around the Old Turf Fire*; Packie Dolan & Melody Boys: *The Cavan Lassies*; P. Kolloran & P. Sweeney: *Medley of Irish Reels*; Gid Tanner & Skillet Lickers: *Miss McLeods Reel*; L. P. Baxter & H. Ford's Old Fashioned Dance Orch.: *Medley of Reels*.

FOLK MUSIC IN AMERICA, Vol. 5: DANCE MUSIC: RAGTIME, JAZZ & MORE (Library of Congress LBC 5). Ukrainska Selska Orch.: *Dowbush Kozak*; Pawlo Humenuik: *Tanec Pid Werbamy*; Josef Pizio: *Pidkamecka kolomyjka*; Michiele Lentine & Antonio Papariello: *Tarantella*; Bog Trotters: *California Cotillion*; Kanui & Kula: *Qua, Qua*; Andy Iona & Islanders: *Minnehaha*; Edwin Johnson Swedish Trio: *Blan-Ollas Ganglat/Visby*; Charlie Turner: *Kansas City Dog Walk*; East Texas Serenaders: *Acorn Stomp*; Cliff Hayes' Louisville Stompers: *Frog Hop*; Genevieve Davis: *Haven't Got A Dollar to Pay Your House Rent Man*; Sammie Lewis & His Bamville Syncopators: *Arkansas Shout*; Bob Wills & Texas Playboys: *I Can't Be Satisfied*; Who Walks in When I Walk Out; State Street Stompers: *Rolling Mill Stomp*.

Before he resigned his position as Head of the Library of Congress' Archive of Folk Song, Alan Jabbour conceived a series of 15 albums of American Music as a Bicentennial commemorative, and obtained a grant from the National Endowment for the Arts for the execution of this project. Richard K. Spottswood, a professional librarian better known in folkmusic circles as a record collector and entrepreneur of rather catholic tastes (founder of Melodeon and Piedmont Records and *Bluegrass Unlimited*), was hired for a two-year period as editor of the series. The first five albums of the series were released last year, and the remaining ten will be forthcoming this year. The selections of the available volumes, listed above, prove this series to be refreshingly innovative as

record series in general (and "bicentennial" series in particular) go: they are drawn from both commercial and field recordings from before the turn of the century to the 1970s; from Ukrainian-American, Polish-American, American Indian, Hawaiian, Mexican-American, Italian-American, Irish-American, Bohemian-American, Amish, and Hebrew Cantorial traditions, in addition to the more familiar hillbilly, blues, sacred harp, cajun, western swing, and jazz idioms and the relatively uncommercial Anglo-American and Afro-American traditions. Few (if any) of the recordings are currently available elsewhere on LP; though in some cases, alternate takes for available releases are used. Each album is accompanied by a brochure of 7-10 pages that includes full discographic data, text transcriptions (and translations and transliterations where appropriate), notes on the selections and performers, and references to other printed or recorded versions. In many cases Spottswood has availed himself of the assistance of other experts in particular fields to insure an authoritative commentary. Notations and references are hardly exhaustive, but do provide the listener/reader with essential background. In the following paragraphs I comment briefly on some of the highlights of each album.

Vol. 1 contains 8 field recordings from the Archive of Folk Song--mostly recorded by John A. Lomax in the 1930s, and 8 commercial cuts, ranging from a 1902 Victor recording by the Dinwiddie Colored Quartet to a 1953 cut by Brother Claude Ely for the King label. Except for the Amish, the Cantorial, and the instrumental Yaqui selections, all the numbers are sung in English. This album and its brochure implicitly raise the vexing problems that face anyone trying to present an overview of American religious folk music. If defining "folk music" poses difficulties, the definition of "religious folk music" is an order of magnitude more complex. How can we define hymnody as "folk music" when it is almost invariably learned from the printed page? In what sense is cantorial music classed as folk music? What general statements can one make about this vague entity of religious folk music? I cannot complain too loudly about the absence of the answers to any of these questions in this album/brochure because I am at a loss myself for the proper responses. So I can do no more than chant a responsorial "amen" to Spottswood's informative notes, only sad that the encounter was not more enlightened by some divine revelation.

The second volume, dealing with songs of love, courtship, and marriage, includes 5 AFS field recordings made between 1925 and 1941, one recording from a live concert in 1964 (Blue Sky Boys), and 11 commercial cuts from 1927 to 1949. Four of the selections are ballads of British origin (Child #274; Laws M1, N7 and a near relative of P10); one song is Mexican, another cajun French; one selection is an Amerindian instrumental, and the balance are native English language American from either black or white singers. For the most part, the lyrics treat the institutions of courtship and marriage with scorn, cynicism, or sadness. Is this truly a representative sampling of the sentiments of American folk poetry? I have always been struck by the contrasting role of love topics in native American balladry as opposed to imported British balladry. Of the 290 ballads identified by G. Malcolm Laws in his syllabus, *American Ballads from British Broad-sides*, in over 60% the subjects of love, courtship or marriage play a principal role. But of the 256 ballads catalogued in Laws' *Native American Ballads*, less than 15% can be so categorized--and most of those that can deal with murder of a sweetheart or wife. Of course, Laws' notions of folk balladry led him to exclude all the sentimental ballads of Tin Pan Alley origins from the late 19th century that eventually entered folk tradition, and a good share of those dealt with love, forsaken or unrequited.

Vols. 3, 4, and 5 deal with dance music of various descriptions. Vol. 3 consists mostly of Anglo-American and Afro-American string bands, with the exception of two cajun waltzes, a Czech/German waltz, a medley by a Swedish-American band, and a Papago Indian waltz. There are several examples of cross-cultural influences: the Papago Indians have borrowed the instrumentation, styles, and tunes of northern Mexican and Texan norteño music; the Swedish group plays a version of a common Anglo-American fiddle tune, "Soldier's Joy," that one of them learned in Sweden; Adolf Hofner's Czech-Bohemian band shows unmistakable signs of western swing influence (Hofner later headed up a western swing band). A more astonishing example is the cut of "Dowbuch Kozak" on Vol. 5 by the (American) Ukrainian Village Orchestra--which turns out to be the familiar "Flop Eared Mule." There are Polish American recordings of the same tune from the 1920s also. To my knowledge, this tune does not appear in any British collections; could the tune have entered the Anglo-American tradition from contact with East-European immigrants in the New World? It is an intriguing thought. Vols. 4 and 5 also include several selections not from the Anglo- or Afro-American traditions: on Vol. 4 are four Polish-, one Czech-American, two norteño, two cajun, and one Indian number. Vol. 5 includes three Ukrainian-American, one Italian-American, two Hawaiian, and one Swedish-American cuts. The four Irish-American selections on Vol. 4 should not be overlooked either. I draw attention to these particular pieces in the series because so little attention has been paid to these idioms, in contrast to the wealth of material currently available in the various Anglo-American and Afro-American traditions. If the remaining ten volumes in this series maintain the standards set in the five at hand, editor Spottswood is to be warmly congratulated for having produced one of the most significant sets of American folk music that have been published--surely the first that has tried to transcend cultural boundaries to produce a survey of all the varieties of the musical experience in this land of many immigrants.

THE STANLEY BROTHERS OF VIRGINIA, Vol. 4 (County 754). 13 bluegrass gospel selections recorded in the early 1960s and originally issued on the now-defunct Wango label (Wango 105). Titles: *Hold to God's Unchanging Hand, When I Lay My Burdens Down, In Heaven We'll Never Grow Old, Somebody Touched Me, Lord I'm Coming Home, Give Me the Roses While I Live, Swing Low Sweet Chariot, Paul and Silas, Gathering Flowers for the Master's Bouquet, The Old Country Church, Will You Miss Me, I Saw the Light, Where Could I Go.*

Among the finest albums that Ralph and Carter Stanley recorded were the four that were issued on Ray Davis' Wango label, under the pseudonyms of John's Gospel Quartet or John's Country Quartet. All now long out of print, the four LPs have recently been reissued on David Freeman's County label (Wango 103 = County 753, Wango 104 = County 739, Wango 106 = County 738, Wango 105 = County 754). The quartet consisted of Carter Stanley, lead vocal and guitar; Ralph Stanley, tenor vocal and banjo; George Shuffler, lead guitar and vocal; Jack Cooke, bass and (occasional) vocal, and Red Stanley, fiddle. As is customary with bluegrass gospel, the instrumental accompaniment is secondary to the vocals (Shuffler's flat picking guitar work is occasionally a little stiff), and the vocals are generally outstanding. Few bluegrass singers can match the haunting sound of Ralph Stanley's high pitched, beautifully melismatic tenor; and Carter's lower pitched, mellower vocals, though not nearly so ornate, provide an excellent complement. Particularly moving are "Lord I'm Coming Home," with alternate lead vocals by the Stanleys; and "Will You Miss Me," with tasteful lead guitar by Shuffler. All aficionados of this type of music owe David Freeman a debt of gratitude; there are few better examples of bluegrass gospel music on record, and it is good to have them available again.

The Kentucky Colonels, *LIVING IN THE PAST* (Takoma-Briar BT 7202). 19 selections recorded by the Los Angeles-based bluegrass band between 1961 and 1965 in live concerts, mostly in the Los Angeles or San Francisco area, California, never previously released. Titles: *Fire on the Mountain, If You're Ever Gonna Love Me, Julius Finkbine's Rag* [Beaumont Rag], *Dark Hollow, He Said If I Be Lifted Up, Memphis Special, A Girl Names Ruth* (comedy routine), *Shuckin' the Corn, Angel of Death, Barefoot Nellie, Hard Hearted, Chug-A-Lug, Journey's End, Sheik of Araby, A Good Woman's Love, Why Mother's Milk Is Better* (comedy routine), *Listen to the Mocking Bird/Old Joe Clark, Jordan/Shady Grove.*

THE KENTUCKY COLONELS 1965-1966 (Rounder 0070). 15 selections, by Clarence and Roland White and either Billy Roy Latham, Roger Bush, and Scott Stoneman, or Bob Worford, Dennis Morris, and Eric White. Titles: *New River Train, Blue Moon of Kentucky, Lee Highway Blues, Don't Let Your Deal Go Down, New Soldiers Joy, Wicked Path of Sin, Rawhide, Bucking Mule, How Mountain Girls Can Love, Black Mountain Rag, Sunny Side of the Mountain, Jimmy's Barnyard Shuffle, You Won't Be Satisfied That Way, Clinch Mountain Backstep, Let Me Fall.*

Periodically one hears of legendary musicians of great local prominence who never, for one reason or another, were recorded on disc. The Kentucky Colonels were practically such a group; they were one of the most influential, and probably the most talented, bluegrass groups on the West Coast; yet during their careers there was not a single record that really did their talents justice. The band, earlier called the Country Boys, revolved around brothers Roland White, mandolin, and Clarence White, guitar, and included Billy Ray Latham, banjo, and Roger Bush, bass. Other musicians were with them for various periods, most notably LeRoy Mack (McNees), dobro, and Scott Stoneman, fiddle. From the late 1950s until 1966, the group tried to make a career of bluegrass in California, but although they gained a large following, and introduced many young Californians to good bluegrass music, the economic opportunities were insufficient for them to be successful. During this, the height of the folk music revival, the Colonels were scarcely able to make any records. (Two LPs were issued; one, a total disaster, and never really marketed; the other, an instrumental album, which was good but not wholly representative of the group at its best. Other studio sessions were taped, but somehow none of the studio material could compare to the sound of the Colonels live. Many concert and night club appearances were taped (at the Ash Grove it was done routinely), but rarely with the care required for high technical quality. Both of these albums suffer somewhat from that deficiency. The principal reason for the group's fame was always the guitar playing of Clarence White. While still in his teens, Clarence had developed an unusually lyrical approach to flat-pick guitar, quite out of the mainstream of bluegrass tradition. (Prior to 1960 few bluegrass guitarists used their instruments for the lead; guitar had been primarily a rhythm back-up instrument.) His guitar style was markedly bluesy--but not so much in the sense of Afro-American blues guitar, as in the sense that bluegrass fiddle is bluesy: highly syncopated and ornamental. This is not to overlook his more flashy skills, which he applied to lightning fast and mechanically precise transcriptions of fiddle tunes. Roland White was an excellent mandolinist and lead vocalist, and also provided the leadership that the young musicians needed. Scott Stoneman's virtuoso fiddling invariably won thunderous applause, but his considerable skills were frequently squandered in tasteless displays of musical fireworks. Perhaps the most under-rated of the bands many talents was Clarence White's baritone singing--mellow, beautifully controlled, and providing a fine contrast

to sharp brother Roland's sharp and biting vocals.

In about 1966 the group gradually disbanded, as Clarence became more involved in rock music, first as a studio guitarist, then as a member of The Byrds. Roland moved to Nashville and became first a guitarist for Bill Monroe's Bluegrass Boys, and then mandolin player for Lester Flatt's Nashville Grass. In 1973 it looked like the opportunity had come for the brothers to get together again and cut the album that had eluded them for years, but Clarence was tragically killed one night by a drunken driver while he and Roland were loading instruments into a car after a night's gig. Neither of these albums is the Kentucky Colonels at their best, but there are still some very good moments. Whether we will ever be able to hear the band at their best captured in the permanent grooves of an LP remains to be seen.

Earl Johnson and His Clodhoppers: RED HOT BREAKDOWN (County 543). Reissue of twelve selections originally recorded by a north Georgia hillbilly string band in 1927 for the Okeh label. Titles: *Leather Breeches, Ain't Nobody's Business, Hen Cackle, Johnson's Old Grey Mule, John Henry Blues, Red Hot Breakdown, I Get My Whiskey from Rockingham, Earl Johnson's Arkansaw Traveller, Little Grave in Georgia, Bully of the Town, Old Grey Mare Kicking Out of the Wilderness*. Liner notes by Donald Lee Nelson.

Earl Johnson, born in 1886 in Gwinnett County, Georgia, was the son of a farmer and renowned old-time fiddler who, some time in his thirties, decided to try to make his living by his own considerable musical skills. He first performed with his brothers, both of whom died in 1923. Johnson's first recordings were on the Paramount label in 1925 with a group named the Dixie String Band. In 1927 he played second fiddle in Fiddlin' John Carson's band for one recording session. But Johnson's fame as fiddler rests on the recordings made by his own group, variously called the Dixie Entertainers and the Clodhoppers, on the Okeh and Victor labels between 1927 and 1931. The compiler of this album regards the earliest of these sessions, from 1927, as Johnson's best, and it is exclusively from these that this reissue is drawn. Johnson was a fiery fiddler who sawed furiously in rapid, short bowstrokes, leading one of the most enthusiastic of the north Georgia string bands. His repertoire comprised largely traditional dance tunes for which he provided lead fiddle and lead vocal. Not unsurprisingly, his band was similar in style and repertoire to another north Georgia string band, the Skillet Lickers--to the extent that both bands had a falsetto tenor singer rendering harmony.

The selections on this album are indeed among Johnson's best--although as an historical document it might have been enhanced by the inclusion of Johnson's very popular and influential "Three Nights Experience" (Child 274) and his "He's a Beaut," a turn-of-the-century parody of "The Widow's Plea for Her Son." This all the more regrettable since four of the selections have already been reissued. But we do have one topical song--"Little Grave in Georgia" is a lyric lament about the 1915 murder of Mary Phagan, also recorded by Fiddlin' John Carson under the title, "The Grave of Little Mary Phagan." "Earl Johnson's Arkansaw Traveller" is a version of the humorous dialog; "Bully of the Town" (previously unissued) and "John Henry Blues" are musically fine performances but not very exciting in terms of ballad texts. On the former, Johnson fiddles with double stops throughout, providing a complete harmony to his own melodic lead. Biographical liner notes are adapted from an article by Donald Lee Nelson that originally appeared in *JEMFQ* #36 (Winter 1974). All in all, this is a significant reissue because it is the first extensive treatment of one of the best of the old time fiddlers of the 1920s; carefully remastered and annotated.

-- N. C.

THE COVER

Our cover this year is a departure from past practice of featuring contemporary artists. The illustration is a painting by the late Missouri artist, Thomas Hart Benton, who was featured in Archie Green's *Commercial Music Graphics* #37 [*JEMFQ* #42]. The painting (tempera with oil glaze on canvas) was made in the summer of 1931, and the original is in the collection of Dr. Abraham Feingold of Sands Point, New York. As Wilbur Leverett noted in a Letter to the Editor [*JEMFQ* #44, p. 174], he, his brother, Homer, and their cousin, Neville Oatman, posed for this painting.

ERRATA

Our apologies to readers who were unable to make sense of Archie Green's *Graphics* #39 in the last issue of *JEMFQ* [#44]. Page 207 should have followed page 210 and preceded page 211. On page 181 of the same issue, one of the fiddlers in the top photograph was incorrectly identified as Lowe Stokes; he is actually Bill Helms.

JEMF REPRINT SERIES

Reprints 17-2S, available bound as a set only, are \$2.00. All other reprints are \$1.00.

4. "Hillbilly Music: Source and Symbol," by Archie Green. From *Journal of American Folklore*, 78 (1965).
6. "An Introduction to Bluegrass," by L. Mayne Smith. From *Journal of American Folklore*, 78 (196S).
9. "Hillbilly Records and Tune Transcriptions," by Judith McCulloh. From *Western Folklore*, 26 (1967).
10. "Some Child Ballads on Hillbilly Records," by Judith McCulloh. From *Folklore and Society: Essays in Honor of Benj. A. Botkin* (Hatboro, Pa., Folklore Associates 1966).
11. "From Sound to Style: The Emergence of Bluegrass," by Neil V. Rosenberg. From *Journal of American Folklore*, 80 (1967).
12. "The Technique of Variation in an American Fiddle Tune," by Linda C. Burman (Hall). From *Ethnomusicology*, 12 (1968).
13. "Great Grandma," by John I. White. From *Western Folklore*, 27 (1968), and "A Ballad in Search of It's Author," by John I. White. From *Western American Literature*, 2 (1967).
14. "Negro Music: Urban Renewal," by John F. Szwed. From *Our Living Traditions: An Introduction to American Folklore* (New York, Basic Books 1968).
- 1S. "Railroad Folksongs on Record--A Survey," by Norm Cohen. From *New York Folklore Quarterly*, 26 (1970).
16. "Country-Western Music and the Urban Hillbilly," by D. K. Wilgus. From *Journal of American Folklore*, 83 (1970).
- 17-2S. Under the title "Commercially Disseminated Folk Music: Sources and Resources," the July 1971 issue of *Western Folklore* included 9 articles by D. K. Wilgus, Eugene Earle, Norm Cohen, Archie Green, Joseph Hickerson, Guthrie T. Meade, Jr., and Bill Malone. Available bound as a set only.
26. "Hear Those Beautiful Sacred Tunes," by Archie Green. From *1970 Yearbook of the International Folk Music Council*.
27. "Some Problems with Musical Public-domain Materials under United States Copyright Law as Illustrated Mainly by the Recent Folk-Song Revival," by O. Wayne Coon. From *Copyright Law Symposium (Number Nineteen)* (New York, Columbia University Press 1971).
28. "The Repertory and Style of a Country Singer: Johnny Cash," by Frederick E. Danker. From *Journal of American Folklore*, 85 (1972).
29. "Country Music: Ballad of the Silent Majority," by Paul DiMaggio, Richard A. Peterson, and Jack Esco, Jr. From *The Sounds of Social Change* (Chicago, Rand McNally & Co. 1972).
30. "Robert W. Gordon and the Second Wreck of 'Old 97'," by Norm Cohen. From *Journal of American Folklore*, 87 (1974).
31. "Keep on the Sunny Side of Life: Pattern and Religious Expression in Bluegrass Gospel Music," by Howard Wight Marshall. From *New York Folklore Quarterly*, 30 (1974).
32. "Southern American Folk Fiddle Styles," by Linda Burman-Hall. From *Ethnomusicology*, 19 (197S).
33. "The Folk Banjo: A Documentary History," by Dena J. Epstein. From *Ethnomusicology*, 19 (197S).
34. "Single-Industry Firm to Conglomerate Synergistics: Alternative Strategies for Selling Insurance and Country Music," a study of the impact of National Life and Accident Insurance Co. on the Grand Ole Opry, by Richard A. Peterson. From *Growing Metropolis: Aspects of Development in Nashville* (Vanderbilt University Press, 197S).

JEMF SPECIAL SERIES

2. *Johnny Cash Discography and Recording History (1955-1968)*, by John L. Smith. \$2.00.
3. *Uncle Dave Macon: A Bio-Discography*, by Ralph Rinzler and Norm Cohen. \$2.00.
4. *From Blues to Pop: The Autobiography of Leonard "Baby Doo" Caston*, edited by Jeff Titon. \$1.50.
5. *'Hear My Song': The Story of the Sons of the Pioneers*, by Ken Griffis. \$6.2S.
6. *Gennett Records of Old Time Tunes*, A Catalog Reprint. \$2.00.
7. *Molly O'Day, Lynn Davis, and the Cumberland Mountain Folks: A Bio-Discography*, by Ivan M. Tribe and John W. Morris. \$3.50.
8. *Reflections: The Autobiography of Johnny Bond*. \$4.00.
9. *Fiddlin' Sid's Memoirs: The Autobiography of Sidney J. Harkreader*, edited by Walter D. Haden. \$4.00.

JEMF LP RECORDS (All LPs are \$6.25; price includes accompanying booklet)

- LP 101: *The Carter Family on Border Radio*. ET recordings not previously available for sale.
- LP 102: *The Sons of the Pioneers*. ET recordings not previously available for sale.
- LP 103: *Paramount Old Time Tunes*. A Sampler from the Paramount label of the 1920s and '30s.
- LP 104: *Presenting the Blue Sky Boys*. Reissue of 196S Capitol LP.

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JEMF QUARTERLY

VOL. 13

Number 45

CONTENTS

New Light on the Early Opry: Dr. Bate's Letters, by Charles Wolfe	1
Stranger Through Your Town: The Backgrounds and Early Life of Jimmie Rodgers, by Nolan Porterfield	4
A Preliminary Vernon Dalhart Discography, Part XXI: British Recordings	16
Announcement	16
Ray Whitley's Tribute to Frank Luther, by Gerald F. Vaughn	17
Commercial Music Graphics, #40: Bradley Kincaid's Folios, by Archie Green	21
They Like to Sing the Old Songs: An Introduction to the A. L. Phipps Family and Their Music, by David L. Taylor	29
Meetings: American Folklife Center Convenes Conference on Ethnic Recordings in America	38
Book Reviews: <i>Country Roots: The Origins of Country Music</i> , by Douglas B. Green (Reviewed by Paul F. Wells); <i>Brothers of Light, Brothers of Blood: The Penitentes of the Southwest</i> , by Marta Weigle (Philip Sonnichsen); <i>Folk Music: More Than a Song</i> , by Kristin Baggelaar and Donald Milton (Norm Cohen); <i>Blacking Up: The Minstrel Show in Nineteenth-Century America</i> , by Robert C. Toll (Norm Cohen); <i>Just Country: Country People, Stories, Music</i> , by Robert Cornfield with Marshall Fallwell, Jr. (Bill Healy)	39
Bibliographic Notes	44
Record Reviews	45

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Members of the Friends of the JEMF receive the *JEMF Quarterly* as part of their \$8.50 (or more) annual membership dues. Individual subscriptions are \$8.50 per year for the current year; Library subscription rates are \$10.00 per year. Back issues of Volumes 6-11 (Numbers 17 through 40) are available at \$2.00 per copy. (Xerographic and microform copies of *JEMFQ* are available from University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Mich.)

The *JEMF Quarterly* is edited by Norm Cohen. Manuscripts that fall within the area of the JEMF's activities and goals (see inside front cover) are invited, but should be accompanied by an addressed, stamped return envelope. All manuscripts, books and records for review, and other communications should be addressed to: Editor, *JEMFQ*, John Edwards Memorial Foundation, at the Folklore & Mythology Center, University of California, Los Angeles, CA., 90024.

JEMF QUARTERLY

JOHN EDWARDS MEMORIAL FOUNDATION



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THE JEMF

The John Edwards Memorial Foundation is an archive and research center located in the Folklore and Mythology Center of the University of California at Los Angeles. It is chartered as an educational non-profit corporation, supported by gifts and contributions.

The purpose of the JEMF is to further the serious study and public recognition of those forms of American folk music disseminated by commercial media such as print, sound recordings, films, radio, and television. These forms include the music referred to as *cowboy, western, country & western, old time, hillbilly, bluegrass, mountain, country, cajun, sacred, gospel, race, blues, rhythm and blues, soul, and folk rock.*

The Foundation works toward this goal by:

gathering and cataloguing phonograph records, sheet music, song books, photographs, biographical and discographical information, and scholarly works, as well as related artifacts;

compiling, publishing, and distributing bibliographical, biographical, discographical, and historical data;

reprinting, with permission, pertinent articles originally appearing in books and journals;

and reissuing historically significant out-of-print sound recordings.

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LETTERS

Sir:

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FOLK AND HILLBILLY MUSIC: FURTHER THOUGHTS ON THEIR RELATION

By Anne and Norm Cohen

Anyone who concerns himself seriously with the folk music of a society eventually comes to the questions of origins and dissemination. What is the source of the musical style? What factors loom large in the transmission of the music from one generation to the next? How do these questions relate to other parameters of the culture? The most successful attempts at dealing with such questions have been those framed in terms of an ideal "folk society" in the sense of one that is homogeneous, relatively isolated from outside influences, and stable. Although such descriptives may have been true of Appalachia a century or two ago, they have not been applicable since Reconstruction days. And the extent of inhomogeneity, instability, and cultural cross-influence has been increasingly marked since the early decades of this century. In the past few decades, students of Appalachian music have grappled with the problems of musical style and change in a context that admitted the borrowings from several other musical genres. In the attempt to evolve some meaningful statements it was found necessary to expand the older terminology that divided music into "folk," "popular," and "art." The term "hillbilly" music came into use in a well-defined academic context in the 1950s, although it had been used in an imprecise (though effective) manner in the popular press for some decades earlier.

Another term, "citybilly," first appeared in print in 1948 in Charles Seeger's first record review column in the Journal of American Folklore.¹ Although no definition was given, the context of Seeger's discussion implied that he used the term to apply to folk music as performed by non-folk performers in non-traditional styles approaching those of the concert stage. Seeger's brief remarks indicated that he was groping for a convenient terminology to use in categorizing recordings for the benefit of his readers. His term is, in retrospect, a useful one, but it can be understood only in the light of a more precise definition of "hillbilly" music.

The "folk music revival" of the 1950s saw the birth of many short-lived periodicals dealing with various aspects of folk music; the most influential, and the only one to last into the present, was Sing Out. In early years, Sing Out's editorial orientation was toward that music

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An expert banjo player with an ear for the traditional southern banjo styles, Faier was obviously aware of the differences between the various traditional styles, folk and hillbilly, as distinguished from the citybilly music that was then in such vogue. During a trip to Los Angeles in the spring of 1959, Faier met Fred Hoeptner, a devotee of many years of hillbilly, western, cowboy, jazz, and folk music. Both of them were performing on the Sunset Strip--Faier at a folk music club, The Unicorn, and Hoeptner down the street in a jazz band. Having learned something of Hoeptner's interests and views from Archie Green, Faier solicited from him an article for Caravan on the subject of folk and hillbilly music. That article was soon submitted, and published in the 16th and 17th issues of Caravan, titled "Folk and Hillbilly Music: The Background of Their Relation."³ Our own choice of title is meant to indicate the importance we attach, eighteen years later, to his article.

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Here we are not concerned with the issue of the influence of hillbilly styles on citybilly styles, though it is an important development that deserves attention. (The obvious influence of the Carter Family on citybilly singers and guitarists is perhaps but the tip of an immense iceberg that floats uncharted on a sea of cross-cultural influences.) But we do wish to probe further the relationship between hillbilly music and the non-commercial folk music whence it sprang.

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With the benefit of nearly two decades of scholarship on hillbilly music's backgrounds and development behind us, we can see the advantages of Wilgus's definition over Hoeptner's. From Hoeptner's approach we see clearly that he has a particular musical style in mind--as shown by his cut-off date just prior to the social and economic upheavals initiated by the Depression and amplified by the Second World War.¹⁰

Wilgus avoids any specific stylistic characterization, suggesting that hillbilly music can, and does, continue to undergo change under the impact of a variety of musical influences. In his first definition he provides a beginning date which implies that records played a dominant role in this new development. His second definition, however, can be applied to the pre-1923 commercial media that held a similar relationship to the folk culture as did recordings¹¹--that is, fiddler's contests and conventions, tent and medicine shows, radio, and other forms of live entertainment. We consider that the medium of phonograph recordings was both qualitatively and quantitatively different from these earlier manifestations--a point we shall elaborate later--and affected both repertoire and performance in a manner that the previous commercial media did not. Thus we prefer to reserve the term "hillbilly" for the post-phonograph period, and regard hillbilly music as having started in 1922-23 with the first commercial recordings of traditional southern performers.

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Early folksong collectors began to canvass the rural South around the turn of the century looking for what they regarded as the dying remnants of the old Anglo-American culture.

They found it in abundance. And, as with the moribund heroines of opera, the dying notes have lingered on far beyond anyone's expectations. The great English folk music collector, Cecil Sharp, advised by an American correspondent of the musical fruits that were ripe for picking, spent forty-six weeks in the mountains between 1916 and 1918 and noted down over 1600 different versions of some 500 songs. Sharp found very little instrumental music--a few jigs played on fiddle--and only one instance of singing with instrumental accompaniment.¹² And yet, a scant decade later (and only five years after the first commercial recordings of traditional southern folksingers and musicians), there was a thriving commerce in "hillbilly" music. By then, 1927, close to two thousand 78 rpm records were available in stores throughout the south featuring hundreds of guitarists, fiddlers, banjo players, and stringbands. Where were the headwaters of this gushing torrent, if early explorers like Sharp had found such a desert landscape, instrumentally speaking?

While a few folksong collectors in the 1920s had been aware of these commercial recordings and even cited and transcribed them on occasion, the scholarly community for the most part regarded commercial products as antithetical to its notions of folk culture. Hoeptner, Wilgus, Archie Green, and a few other writers, had posted their indictments, which need no reiteration here. And following their lead, in the early 1960s a growing recognition of the importance and significance of hillbilly music could be detected in both the fan-oriented journals and the academic publications. Soon it had come to be the accepted position that the early hillbilly recording artists were folk-singers and folk musicians pure and simple, and that the talent scouts of the record companies who found and recorded them were next of kin to the academic folksong collectors who had scoured the same hills before them.

Yet, while we are basically in accord with this more modern view of the role of hillbilly music, it is somewhat misleading. If the mere fact of commercialism is of such an incidental nature, how can one account for the rapid changes in commercially recorded "hillbilly" music between the 1920s and the 1970s, while collectors can still go into the hills of North Carolina, West Virginia, and elsewhere, and record instrumental styles and songs scarcely different from those of a half century ago? And, even more pointed a question: why is it that the academic collections of the 1920s reveal so different a repertoire from that recorded by the A&R men of the same period?

There are several answers to this latter question, one of which parallels the answer to the query why Sharp found no instrumental music. In the first place, it is often the case that performers respond to what is requested of them. Folksong collectors, basically antique hunters,

have their antennae tuned for the old and arcane. Sharp was not interested in instrumental music; he did not search for it; and it was not offered to him.

But, in a sense, this can be only part of the truth. For example, collectors (or A&R men) don't necessarily request individual ballads or songs; more likely they request, or hint at, broad areas of material. Here, then, may lie the key. Perhaps the reason Sharp collected no instrumental music was that he was not present at, or was not interested in, those occasions on which instrumental music is played: at dances, parties, and public assemblies of various sorts. He visited individuals in their homes and got the kind of music that was usually performed by individuals in their homes: ballads, lullabies, children's songs, etc.--that body of music D.K. Wilgus has labelled the "domestic tradition."

We would like to suggest the term "assembly tradition" for that realm of music, generally different in style and repertoire from the domestic tradition, and usually having an instrumental component, which was performed at public gatherings.¹³ The assembly tradition is the music that functions in the context of a much expanded audience: local dances, parties, corn-huskings, land sales, weddings, medicine shows, fiddle conventions and contests, political rallies, street singing, church music, and even professional concerts, such as those presented by groups like the Carter Family or the North Carolina Ramblers long before they began making records. In a sense, this public component was the "hillbilly" tradition long before the advent of hillbilly phonograph records.

When a folk song collector such as Sharp visited the mountain folk, he made it clear that he was interested in the material of the domestic tradition, and this is what he got. When the early contacts were established between singers and musicians and the representatives of the commercial phonograph industry, there could have been little if any doubt in the minds of the performers that this was public entertainment, and that the assembly tradition was what was expected and what was appropriate under the circumstances.

Assembly music was much more responsive to contemporary popular musical developments than was the domestic tradition. The domestic was largely the older component, the material learned orally in the folksinger's youth without thought of commercial value or current vogue. It was so much a part of the individual's private cultural heritage that it was probably inconceivable to many would-be intertainers that it had commercial value--any more than a contemporary urban singer would offer up a lullaby or jump-rope rhyme or ditty such as "Happy Birthday." By contrast, the assembly music was greatly affected by then-current musical idioms that were enjoying national prominence,

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They found it in abundance. And, as with the moribund heroines of opera, the dying notes have lingered on far beyond anyone's expectations. The great English folk music collector, Cecil Sharp, advised by an American correspondent of the musical fruits that were ripe for picking, spent forty-six weeks in the mountains between 1916 and 1918 and noted down over 1600 different versions of some 500 songs. Sharp found very little instrumental music--a few jigs played on fiddle--and only one instance of singing with instrumental accompaniment.¹² And yet, a scant decade later (and only five years after the first commercial recordings of traditional southern folksingers and musicians), there was a thriving commerce in "hillbilly" music. By then, 1927, close to two thousand 78 rpm records were available in stores throughout the south featuring hundreds of guitarists, fiddlers, banjo players, and stringbands. Where were the headwaters of this gushing torrent, if early explorers like Sharp had found such a desert landscape, instrumentally speaking?

While a few folksong collectors in the 1920s had been aware of these commercial recordings and even cited and transcribed them on occasion, the scholarly community for the most part regarded commercial products as antithetical to its notions of folk culture. Hoeptner, Wilgus, Archie Green, and a few other writers, had posted their indictments, which need no reiteration here. And following their lead, in the early 1960s a growing recognition of the importance and significance of hillbilly music could be detected in both the fan-oriented journals and the academic publications. Soon it had come to be the accepted position that the early hillbilly recording artists were folk-singers and folk musicians pure and simple, and that the talent scouts of the record companies who found and recorded them were next of kin to the academic folksong collectors who had scoured the same hills before them.

Yet, while we are basically in accord with this more modern view of the role of hillbilly music, it is somewhat misleading. If the mere fact of commercialism is of such an incidental nature, how can one account for the rapid changes in commercially recorded "hillbilly" music between the 1920s and the 1970s, while collectors can still go into the hills of North Carolina, West Virginia, and elsewhere, and record instrumental styles and songs scarcely different from those of a half century ago? And, even more pointed a question: why is it that the academic collections of the 1920s reveal so different a repertoire from that recorded by the A&R men of the same period?

There are several answers to this latter question, one of which parallels the answer to the query why Sharp found no instrumental music. In the first place, it is often the case that performers respond to what is requested of them. Folksong collectors, basically antique hunters,

have their antennae tuned for the old and arcane. Sharp was not interested in instrumental music; he did not search for it; and it was not offered to him.

But, in a sense, this can be only part of the truth. For example, collectors (or A&R men) don't necessarily request individual ballads or songs; more likely they request, or hint at, broad areas of material. Here, then, may lie the key. Perhaps the reason Sharp collected no instrumental music was that he was not present at, or was not interested in, those occasions on which instrumental music is played: at dances, parties, and public assemblies of various sorts. He visited individuals in their homes and got the kind of music that was usually performed by individuals in their homes: ballads, lullabies, children's songs, etc.--that body of music D.K. Wilgus has labelled the "domestic tradition."

We would like to suggest the term "assembly tradition" for that realm of music, generally different in style and repertoire from the domestic tradition, and usually having an instrumental component, which was performed at public gatherings.¹³ The assembly tradition is the music that functions in the context of a much expanded audience: local dances, parties, cornhuskings, land sales, weddings, medicine shows, fiddle conventions and contests, political rallies, street singing, church music, and even professional concerts, such as those presented by groups like the Carter Family or the North Carolina Ramblers long before they began making records. In a sense, this public component was the "hillbilly" tradition long before the advent of hillbilly phonograph records.

When a folk song collector such as Sharp visited the mountain folk, he made it clear that he was interested in the material of the domestic tradition, and this is what he got. When the early contacts were established between singers and musicians and the representatives of the commercial phonograph industry, there could have been little if any doubt in the minds of the performers that this was public entertainment, and that the assembly tradition was what was expected and what was appropriate under the circumstances.

Assembly music was much more responsive to contemporary popular musical developments than was the domestic tradition. The domestic was largely the older component, the material learned orally in the folksinger's youth without thought of commercial value or current vogue. It was so much a part of the individual's private cultural heritage that it was probably inconceivable to many would-be intertainers that it had commercial value--any more than a contemporary urban singer would offer up a lullaby or jump-rope rhyme or ditty such as "Happy Birthday." By contrast, the assembly music was greatly affected by then-current musical idioms that were enjoying national prominence,

- PATTEE, COL. JOHN. Co: Sept 1924 (1).
Biog. and discog.: Brief note in RR #64 (Nov 1964), p. 10.
- PETERSON, WALTER. Pm: mid-1924 (1?)
No biog. or discog.
- POWERS, FIDDLIN', & FAMILY. Vi: 1924 (4); Ed: Oct 1925 (4); OK: Sept 1927 (2).
No biog. or discog.
- PUCKETT, GEORGE RILEY. Co: Mar 1924-Oct 1931 (137); RCA: Mar 1937-Oct 1941 (58); De: ca. Sept 1937 (6; w/Red Jones).
Biog.: JEMFQ 12 (Winter 1976), 175-183.
Discog.: None currently available. But see under TANNER.
- RENEAU, GEORGE. Vo: Apr 1924-Oct 1925 (25). Plaza: Jun 1927 (4 or 5 w/Lester MacFarland as Gentry Bros.); Ed: Oct 1924 (5; w/Gene Austin as Blue Ridge Duo).
No biog. or discog.
- ROBERTSON, ECK (& H. GILLILAND on some sides). Vi: Jun 1922 (3); RCA Aug-Oct 1929 (5; w/Robertson Family).
- SIDES, CONNIE (Acc. by ERNEST THOMPSON, q.v.). Co: Sept 1924 (3).
No biog.: See under THOMPSON for discog.
- STANLEY, ROBA /STANLEY TRIO. OK: Aug 1924-July 1925 (5).
No biog. or discog.
- STONEMAN, ERNEST V. OK: Sept 1924-May 1927 (21); Ed: June 1926-Nov 1928 (23); Ge: Aug 1926-Sept 1929 (17); Vi: Sept 1926-Nov 1928 (29); Plaza/ARC: May 1927-Jan 1934 (7); Pathe: Jun 1928 (1); Pm: ca. Aug 1929 (1).
Biog. and discog.: The Early Recording Career of Ernest V. "Pop" Stoneman: A Bio-Discography (JEMF Special Series #1, 1968); for biog. see also brochure notes to Rounder 1008: Ernest V. Stoneman & the Blue Ridge Cornshuckers.
- STUART, UNCLE AM. Vo: Jun 1924 (7).
Biog. and discog.: JEMFN 4 (Jun 1968), 39-44.
- SWAGERTY, MR. & MRS. DOUGLAS. OK: Mar 1924 (12).
No biog. or discog.
- TANNER, JAMES GIDEON. Co: Mar 1924-Oct 1931 (68); RCA: Mar 1934 (24).
Biog.: See Stars of Country Music (1975), pp 27-34, and refs. cited therein.
Discog.: Quarter Notes 1 (Aut. 1962), 5-9.
- TAYLOR, GOV. ALF. Vi: 1924 (1).
No biog. or discog.
- THOMPSON, ERNEST. Co: Apr 1924-Sept 1924 (17).
No biog.; discog.: RR #56 (Nov 1963).
- TWEEDY BROS. Ge: Jun 1924-May 1930 (8).
No biog. or discog.
- VAUGHN QUARTET. Ge: Apr 1923 (?).
No biog. or discog.
- WHITTER, HENRY. OK: (Mar? or) Dec 1923-Sept 1926 (22); Vi: Aug 1927-Nov 1930 (16; many with G. B. Grayson); Ge: Oct 1927-Feb 1928 (6); Pm: ca. Aug 1926 (2).
Biog. and discog.: JEMFQ 11 (Summer 1975), 57-66.

Record label/Company abbreviations used:

ARC = American Record Corporation	OK = OKeh
Br = Brunswick	Pm = Paramount
Co = Columbia	Vi = Victor
Ed = Edison	Vo = Vocalion
Ge = Gennett	

Periodical abbreviations used:

JEMFN = JEMF Newsletter	OTM = Old Time Music (London)
JEMFQ = JEMF Quarterly	RR = Record Research

SPATIAL DIFFUSION OF THE ALL-COUNTRY MUSIC RADIO STATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES, 1971-74

By George O. Carney

(The author, a faculty member of the Department of Geography at Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, has previously published studies of country music and bluegrass music from the perspective of his special discipline. This paper was originally published as Discussion Paper Number 39 in Studies in the Diffusion of Innovation, a series sponsored by the Department of Geography of The Ohio State University.)

Recent spatial diffusion research has examined a wide variety of phenomena (e.g., Pyle,¹ Zelinsky,² Kniffen,³ Bowden,⁴ Malecki and Brown⁵) including music and communication (Ford,⁶ Carney,⁷ Bell,⁸ Berry⁹). Generally the focus of this work may be classified as either a cultural or a technological innovation. The present study, on the other hand, examines the diffusion of an innovation that embodies both aspects: the all-country music radio station (AM) in the United States. The first section provides background material pertaining primarily to the early nodal centers of country music programming on radio. The second section presents an analysis of the diffusion patterns of the all country music radio station, focusing particularly upon the years 1971-74. The third section details the causal factors underlying these patterns. A summary of the work is provided in the concluding section. Principal data sources include the Broadcasting Yearbook, 1971-74 and the Radio Station Survey, 1971-74 of the Country Music Association.

Early Nodal Centers of Country Music Programming on Radio

Southern radio stations had begun programming country music by the early 1920s. Station WSB in Atlanta is acknowledged to have been the first when it featured Fiddlin' John Carson in 1922.¹⁰ In the years following this initial stage of country music programming, stations throughout the South and Midwest began featuring country talent.¹¹ Station WBAP in Fort Worth produced the first radio barn dance music on 4 January, 1923, which was a year and a half before the WLS National Barn Dance in Chicago and about three years prior to the famed WSM Grand Ole Opry in Nashville. In those early, unregulated days of American broadcasting, WBAP programs, featuring such groups as the Peacock Fiddle Band from Cleburne, Texas, were received by listeners in New York, Canada, Hawaii, and Haiti and stimulated a series of country music barn dances that began appearing on radio stations located primarily in the South and Midwest (Figure 1).

Although stations WSB and WBAP had programmed barn dance shows as early as 1922, WLS in Chicago produced the first show to achieve any kind of longevity or national recognition. This was inaugurated one week after the station went on the air on 12 April 1924. Owned by the Sear-Roebuck Company initially and by the Prairie Farmer newspaper from 1928, WLS aimed much of its programming toward the rural and small town listener in the Midwest.¹³ A group of country-style fiddlers appeared on the first program, and the music was so well received that there were hundreds of requests for various fiddle tunes within the next week.¹⁴ This humble beginning in 1924 led to the development of the popular National Barn Dance, now carried by station WGN in Chicago.

Despite the success experienced by the WBAP and WLS barn dance shows, the Grand Ole Opry, transmitted throughout the southland over Nashville's 50,000 watt WSM station, became the most important country music show when it gained network status in 1939. For thirty minutes every Saturday night, sponsored by Prince Albert Tobacco, the National Broadcasting Company carried a segment representative of the larger four-and-a-half-hour show that was headlined by a name performer and supported by other acts.¹⁵

In addition to national shows like the WSM Grand Ole Opry, the thirties and forties witnessed the emergence of regional barn dances sponsored by local radio stations (Figure 1). These included Louisiana Hayride, produced by KWKH in Shreveport; Midwestern Hayride originating in Cincinnati and the Boone County Jamboree originating from Renfro Valley, Kentucky, both supported by WLW in Cincinnati; Jamboree, produced by WWVA in Wheeling; Big D Jamboree, aired by Dallas' KRLD; New Dominion Barn Dance, presented by Richmond's WRVA; Tennessee Barn Dance aired by WNOX in Knoxville; and the KXLA Hometown Jamboree from Pasadena.¹⁶

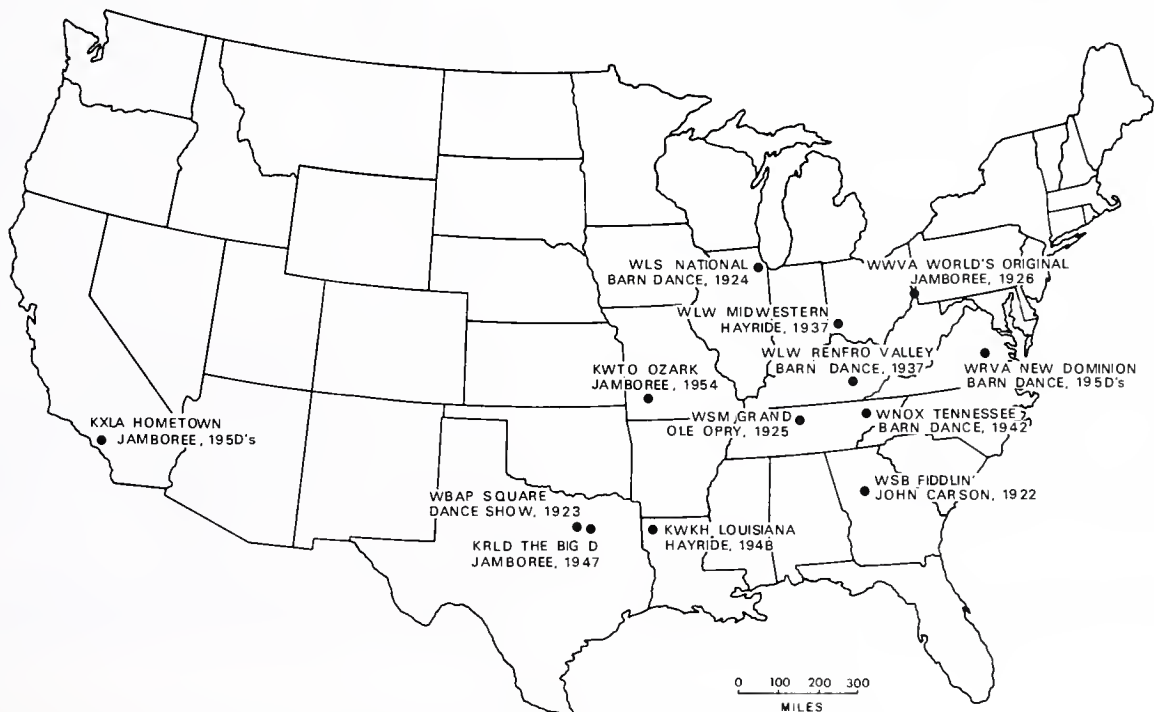
Table 1: THE ADOPTION OF THE ALL COUNTRY MUSIC RADIO STATION BY CITY SIZE AND YEAR OF ESTABLISHMENT

CITY SIZE	Total AM Stations in each Size Category in 1974	Adopters by 1971	New Adoption and Cumulative Adoption 1972	1973	1974	Percentage Distribution of Adoption by City Size Classification for 1974
25,000 or less	2,558	321(12.5%) ^a	51 372(14.5%) ^a	65 437(17.1%) ^a	52 487(19.0%) ^a	56.9%
25,001 - 50,000	539	67(12.4%) ^a	31 98(18.2%) ^a	25 117(21.7%) ^a	11 128(23.7%) ^a	15.0%
50,001 - 100,000	413	53(12.8%) ^a	33 66(16.0%) ^a	21 87(21.1%) ^a	16 105(25.4%) ^a	12.2%
100,001 - 250,000	347	44(12.7%) ^a	9 53(15.3%) ^a	16 69(19.9%) ^a	8 77(22.2%) ^a	9.0%
250,001 - 500,000	171	23(13.4%) ^a	3 26(15.2%) ^a	4 30(17.5%) ^a	3 33(19.3%) ^a	3.9%
500,001 - 1,000,000	182	13(7.1%) ^a	1 14(7.7%) ^a	4 18(9.9%) ^a	2 20(10.9%) ^a	2.3%
Over 1,000,000	71	4(5.6%) ^a	0 4(5.6%) ^a	2 6(8.5%) ^a	0 6(8.5%) ^a	0.7%
Number of All Country Radio Stations		525	633	764	856	
All Country Radio Stations as Percentage of AM Radio Stations in 1974 (4,291)		12.3%	14.8%	17.8%	20.0%	

^aThese percents represent the cumulative level of adoption over the total number of AM stations in the respective size category for 1974.

Sources: Radio Station Survey, Country Music Association, Nashville; Broadcasting Yearbook, 1971-74; City County Data Book 1972.

FIGURE 1
EARLY NODAL CENTERS OF COUNTRY MUSIC PROGRAMMING



SOURCE: Linnell Gentry (ed.), A History and Encyclopedia of Country, Western, and Gospel Music. (Nashville: McQuiddy Press, 1969), p. 354

By the mid-1950s only the WSM Grand Ole Opry and the WWVA Jamboree were still on the air. It was then, however, that the all-country music radio station emerged, i.e., one that plays 100 percent country music regardless of the number of hours it is on the air in a 24 hour period.¹⁷ This movement, to which attention now turns, both resulted in more programming of country music on a part time basis and burgeoned in its own right.

The All Country Music Radio Station: The Pattern of Its Diffusion

Complete data on the locations of all country music radio stations first became available in 1971, as a result of the extensive efforts of the Country Music Association.¹⁸ In that year there were 525 such stations, representing 12.3 percent of all 1974 AM stations (Table 1). These were located in several clusters throughout the South and Far West regions of the United States (Figure 2). Significant concentrations are found in the Appalachian areas from southern Pennsylvania to northern Alabama; the coastal lowland areas of the Carolinas, Florida, and Alabama; Texas with the exception of the Rio Grande Valley; and the Central and Willamette Valley areas of the West Coast (Figure 3). In 1971 Texas, North Carolina, Florida, Tennessee, Georgia, Alabama, and Virginia were the states with the greatest number of all country stations; and only California, which ranked seventh, contained a significant number outside the South (Table 2). In terms of the percentage of all country radio to total AM stations, the Southeastern and South Central states of Texas (22.0%), Alabama (19.6%), Tennessee (18.2%), Florida (17.7%), and North Carolina (17.4%) ranked high (Table 2). The highest percentage (27.2%), however, is found in Nevada. One explanation is that no large-wattage all-country music station is dominant in the intermontane region so that a larger number of smaller wattage stations (5,000 watts or less) each "take a small piece of the market pie."¹⁹

In 1972 there were 120 new adopters of the all-country format, resulting in a net growth (after closings) to 633 stations or 14.8 percent of all AM stations (Table 1). The largest number of new stations occurred in either southern or border states such as Alabama (9), Florida (8), Georgia (5), Tennessee (6), Arkansas (6), Louisiana (5), Kentucky (7), Oklahoma (9), North Carolina (7), and Texas (5). Together, these accounted for 67 of the 120 new stations (Table 2). However, there also was significant spatial expansion outside of the South (Figure 2), particularly in California (8), Washington (5), Indiana (6), Illinois (5), and Michigan (5) where another 29 all-country stations were established. In terms of the proportion of AM stations that were all-country, Alabama led with 26.1% followed by Texas (23.8%),

South Dakota (23.5%), Nevada (22.7%), Florida (21.7%), North Carolina (20.8%), and Oklahoma (20.6%). South Dakota also has a high proportion of all country stations (23.5%). This situation is similar to Nevada, i.e., a larger number of small wattage country music stations were established because no large wattage all country station dominated the upper Great Plains.²⁰

The largest growth occurred in 1973 when 143 all country stations were added, resulting in a total after closings of 764 or 17.8 percent of all AM radio stations (Table 1). Considerable increase was again noticeable in the South (Figure 2), particularly in Texas (21), Tennessee (11), Kentucky (9), Alabama (10), and Mississippi (10) where 61 adopters appeared (Table 2). Areas outside the South penetrated by the diffusion included Minnesota with 9 new stations and, with six each, Missouri, Montana, and West Virginia. By 1973 the number of all-country stations in Alabama and Texas had increased to 33.3% and 31.1% of the total AM stations in each state (Table 2). Tennessee ranked third (29.2%) followed by Utah (26.7%), Kentucky (25.5%), Montana (25.0%), North Dakota (24.1%), Missouri (22.9%), Florida (22.7%), and Wyoming (22.2%). Utah's high percentage, as in the case of Nevada and South Dakota, reflects a situation in which a large number of small wattage country music stations compete for the market. In addition, however, the Mormon Church fosters various forms of folk dances including the square dance which has historically utilized traditional country music as background.^{21, 22, 23}

By 1974 there were 856 all country radio stations, or 20.0 percent of all AM stations (Table 1). This represented a gain of 92 adopters over the 1973 figure, an indication that new adoption was leveling off. Further, there also is a shift in the locus of adoption. The most noticeable increases in the South, for example, are in Oklahoma (9), Missouri (11), South Carolina (10), Georgia (7), Virginia (6), Mississippi (6), Louisiana (5), and Tennessee (5), a shift in focus from states such as Texas and Alabama where most adoptions took place in previous years (Table 2). Also emerging as a new pocket of the all country radio station was the Upper Ohio Valley, especially Pennsylvania (7), Indiana (5), Illinois (4), and Ohio (4) (Figure 3). By 1974 eight states in the Southeast and South Central regions ranked highest in terms of percentage of all country stations to total AM stations. These included Missouri (33.0%), Texas and Tennessee (32.5%), Oklahoma (32.4%), Alabama (29.7%), Mississippi (26.9%), Louisiana (26.1%) and Virginia (25.4%) (Table 2).

In terms of urban size distribution the adoption of the all country music radio station

Table 2: THE ADOPTION OF THE ALL COUNTRY MUSIC RADIO STATION BY STATE AND YEAR OF ESTABLISHMENT

STATE	Total AM 1974	1971		1972		1973		1974	
		Total All Country	% of 1974 Total AM	Total All Country	% of 1974 Total AM	Total All Country	% of 1974 Total AM	Total All Country	% of 1974 Total AM
Alabama	138	27	19.6%	36	26.1%	46	33.3%	41	29.7%
Arizona	64	10	15.6%	11	17.2%	10	15.6%	10	15.6%
Arkansas	84	9	10.7%	15	17.9%	18	21.4%	20	23.8%
California	187	25	13.3%	33	17.6%	33	17.6%	32	17.1%
Colorado	68	6	8.8%	8	11.8%	8	11.8%	10	14.7%
Connecticut	39	2	5.1%	2	5.1%	3	7.7%	2	5.1%
Delaware	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Florida	198	35	17.7%	43	21.7%	45	22.7%	44	22.2%
Georgia	177	28	15.8%	33	18.6%	36	20.3%	43	24.3%
Idaho	43	4	9.3%	6	13.9%	8	18.6%	8	18.6%
Illinois	127	8	6.3%	13	10.2%	13	10.2%	17	13.4%
Indiana	87	5	5.7%	11	12.6%	11	12.6%	16	18.4%
Iowa	80	6	7.5%	7	8.8%	9	11.3%	12	15.0%
Kansas	61	3	4.9%	5	8.2%	5	8.2%	6	9.8%
Kentucky	110	12	10.9%	19	17.3%	28	25.5%	26	23.6%
Louisiana	92	12	13.0%	17	18.5%	19	20.7%	24	26.1%
Maine	35	3	8.6%	1	2.9%	4	11.4%	5	14.3%
Maryland	50	5	10.0%	5	10.0%	6	12.0%	8	16.0%
Massachusetts	65	1	1.5%	3	4.6%	2	3.1%	3	4.6%
Michigan	129	9	7.0%	14	10.9%	18	14.0%	16	12.4%
Minnesota	92	6	6.5%	6	6.5%	15	16.3%	15	16.3%
Mississippi	104	13	12.5%	12	11.5%	22	21.2%	28	26.9%
Missouri	109	16	14.7%	19	17.4%	25	22.9%	36	33.0%
Montana	40	4	10.0%	4	10.0%	10	25.0%	9	22.5%
Nebraska	48	3	6.3%	5	10.4%	5	10.4%	8	16.7%
Nevada	22	6	27.3%	5	22.7%	4	18.2%	4	18.2%
New Hampshire	27	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	7.4%
New Jersey	39	0	0	0	0	1	2.6%	2	5.1%
New Mexico	57	8	14.0%	7	12.3%	11	19.3%	11	19.3%
New York	161	8	5.0%	9	5.6%	12	7.5%	12	7.5%
North Carolina	207	36	17.4%	43	20.8%	46	22.2%	46	22.2%
North Dakota	29	3	10.3%	5	17.2%	7	24.1%	7	24.1%
Ohio	126	10	7.9%	12	9.5%	14	11.1%	18	14.3%
Oklahoma	68	5	7.4%	14	20.6%	13	19.1%	22	32.4%
Oregon	81	13	16.1%	12	14.8%	16	19.8%	18	22.2%
Pennsylvania	177	11	6.2%	10	5.6%	9	5.1%	16	9.0%
Rhode Island	15	1	6.7%	1	6.7%	1	6.7%	1	6.7%
South Carolina	104	13	12.5%	12	11.5%	12	11.5%	22	21.2%
South Dakota	34	6	17.7%	8	23.5%	6	17.6%	7	20.6%
Tennessee	154	28	18.2%	34	22.1%	45	29.2%	50	32.5%
Texas	286	63	22.0%	68	23.8%	89	31.1%	93	32.5%
Utah	30	5	16.7%	6	20.0%	8	26.7%	7	23.3%
Vermont	18	1	5.6%	1	5.6%	0	0	0	0
Virginia	134	22	16.4%	23	17.2%	28	20.9%	34	25.4%
Washington	95	11	11.6%	16	16.8%	16	16.8%	18	18.9%
West Virginia	60	7	11.7%	3	5.0%	9	15.0%	12	20.0%
Wisconsin	103	12	11.7%	9	8.7%	12	11.7%	11	10.7%
Wyoming	27	4	14.8%	3	11.1%	6	22.2%	4	14.8%

1974 Rank by Percentage of All Country to AM Stations - Top 12 States

				1. Missouri	33.0%
				2. Texas	32.5%
				3. Tennessee	32.5%
				4. Oklahoma	32.4%
				5. Alabama	29.7%
				6. Mississippi	26.9%
				7. Louisiana	26.1%
				8. Virginia	25.4%
				9. Georgia	24.3%
				10. North Dakota	24.1%
				11. Arkansas	23.8%
				12. Kentucky	23.6%
New Stations Opened	120	143	109		
Stations Closed	12	12	17		
Net Increase	108	131	92		

Sources: Radio Station Growth Report (Supplied to author by Jan Ray Garratt, Archives of C. M. A., Nashville, Tennessee.)

is largely concentrated in smaller towns (Table 1). Thus, 487 of the 856 all country stations (56.9%) are located in cities of 25,000 population or less and 84.1% (720 stations) are in towns no larger than 100,000 population (Table 1). These size differences are less distinct but still recognizable if the adoption percentage is taken from the number of AM stations in each size class (the number of potential adopters). Thus, towns of 100,000 population or less tend to have adoption among approximately 23% of their AM stations, whereas there is only approximately a 9% level of adoption in towns of 500,000 or greater population.

Once considered a small town phenomenon, then, the all-country radio station appears to be sliding up the urban hierarchy in contrast to the more common pattern where an innovation originates in larger cities and trickles down the hierarchical structure.²² Admittedly, the early nodal centers of country music programming in the 1920s and 1930s were located in cities such as Chicago, Nashville, Fort Worth, and Shreveport. However, their format was not exclusively country music, and only Chicago among that early group could be classified as a large city. Further, it was not until 1973 that the two largest urban centers in the United States adopted, when WHN in New York and KMPC in Los Angeles switched to the all-country sound. Reverse order hierarchical diffusion is also illustrated by the late adoption (in 1973) of all country programming in Phoenix, Indianapolis, Jacksonville, and Memphis.

The All-Country Music Radio Station: Factors Underlying Its Diffusion

Cultural historians, folklorists, and sociologists have agreed for some time that the cultural hearth of country music is the South, including both upland Appalachia and the coastal lowlands.²³⁻²⁵ Early pioneer migration from this area, shifting the southern frontier, was directed towards areas with physiographic conditions similar to those left behind. Thus, migration from the Appalachian sections of the Upper South flowed in a westerly direction towards the Ozarks, while migration from the Lower South flowed towards the potential cotton producing regions of Arkansas, Louisiana, and Texas.²⁶ In this fashion the population of the cultural hearth of country music pushed steadily westward in the nineteenth century, moving the southern music culture with it.

Our data are consistent with these observations. The states of the Upper and Lower South, as well as Texas, Louisiana, Arkansas, Oklahoma, Kentucky, and Missouri provide the largest contiguous area where the highest proportion of all country stations (relative to the number of AM stations) is found. Within this area, however, the influence of the early nodal centers of country music programming, which

likewise tended to be located in the South (Figure 1), also is evident. Consider, for example, the cluster of all country stations located near Fort Worth-Dallas and Shreveport, early centers of country music programming (Figure 3).

The location of all country music radio stations in the Central Valley of California and Willamette Valley of Oregon also can be attributed to migration, but at a later date. The population of these areas consists primarily of "Okies," "Arkies," and Texans who migrated during the 1930s and their descendants.²⁷ The dust bowl refugees' affection for country music has remained strong, and their demands are reflected by the number of stations that serve them.

Migration from the South also played a role in the reverse order hierarchical diffusion pattern, creating a demand for all country music radio stations in metropolitan areas such as Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, and Cincinnati.²⁸⁻³⁰ Additional factors in this sliding up diffusion include the changing musical tastes of urbanites who have become disenchanted with the quality of Tin Pan Alley music; the rejuvenation of interest among city people for the vanishing countryside and its rural folkways such as country music; and the organized effort of the country music industry to broaden its audience by making personal appearances outside of Nashville.³¹ Thus, the all-country music radio station moved uptown from down home.

However, since this demand for country music was not met simultaneously, we must turn to the processes underlying the establishment of the all-country music radio station to fully understand its diffusion. The first conversion to the all-country music format was station KDAV in Lubbock, Texas. This was initiated by Dave Stone, the new station manager, who previously had a one hour country music show on Lubbock's KSEL and found listener response overwhelming (two sacks of mail per day).³² Stone's communication of his experience to other Texas station managers was partly responsible for the spread of the all-country music format during the 1950s. Also, however, personnel who had worked for Stone carried the innovation to other stations in the South Central states where they were later employed, and Stone was personally responsible for adoption by KZIP in Amarillo, KPEP in San Angelo, and KPIK in Colorado Springs, Colorado.³³

During the 1960s, however, the Country Music Association became the marshalling force in urging radio stations to convert to the all country sound. Its efforts were encouraged by the heavy competition among stations who featured rock, top-40, and easy listening formats and the view in broadcasting circles that "too many were trying to cut the pie," particularly in urban areas. When stations with such formats

began losing money, the Country Music Association encouraged them to change over to all country. An instrument in this effort was the Pulse 23-market survey of country music stations which was promoted in broadcasting journals, trade magazines (such as Billboard, Record World, and Cash Box), and record company literature in order to reach potential adopters.³⁴ This survey revealed that the audience was stable, loyal, and of considerable buying power, and that stations converting to the all country sound increased both their ratings and sales.

It thus appears that the establishment of all-country music radio stations in the initial stages of diffusion, during the 1950s, was largely a contagion process based upon personal contact. In the 1960s, however, the Country Music Association acted as a central propagator,³⁵ contacting station managers (particularly those losing money with rock and pop formats) and showing them that ratings and sales could be increased by adopting the all country format.

Conclusions

This paper has examined the diffusion of the all-country music radio station in the United States. Although country music programming originated in large cities such as Fort Worth, Chicago, and Nashville, the all country music radio station has been more common in small towns of 25,000 population or less, and for the most part has diffused up the urban hierarchy instead of down. Considered regionally, the all-country music radio station originated in the South and South Central states, where the majority are still found, and diffused outward from that hearth in all directions.

The processes underlying these patterns are several. On a localized level, evidence of a contagion based process, suggesting communication factors, can be found. Thus, we note a markedly higher incidence of all country music radio stations around the early nodal centers of country music programming. More interesting, however, all-country music radio is a culture-related innovation, and its adoption has reflected the presence of the southern music culture. While this culture originated in the Southern highlands, migration is the mechanism by which it has been spread, first to other areas in the deep South and South Central states; later to western and northern areas. Thus, the diffusion pattern observed here--from south to west and north; from small towns to larger cities. In a more general context, the diffusion of the all-country music radio station, a process of expansion,³⁶ follows the diffusion of its opportunity set³⁷ (i.e., potential audience) of persons imbued with the southern music culture, a migration or relocation type process.³⁶ In addition, however, the role of a central propagator, the Country Music Association, also is evident. The CMA promoted change to the all-country format by employing surveys indicating the economic advantages of such a shift, communicated through broadcast industry media. Thus, we observe a polynuclear process initially without central propagator support, giving way to one with central propagator support later.³⁵ This innovation, then, provides a good example of how several different, seemingly disparate processes coalesce to bring about what on the surface appears to be a simple diffusion process.

FOOTNOTES

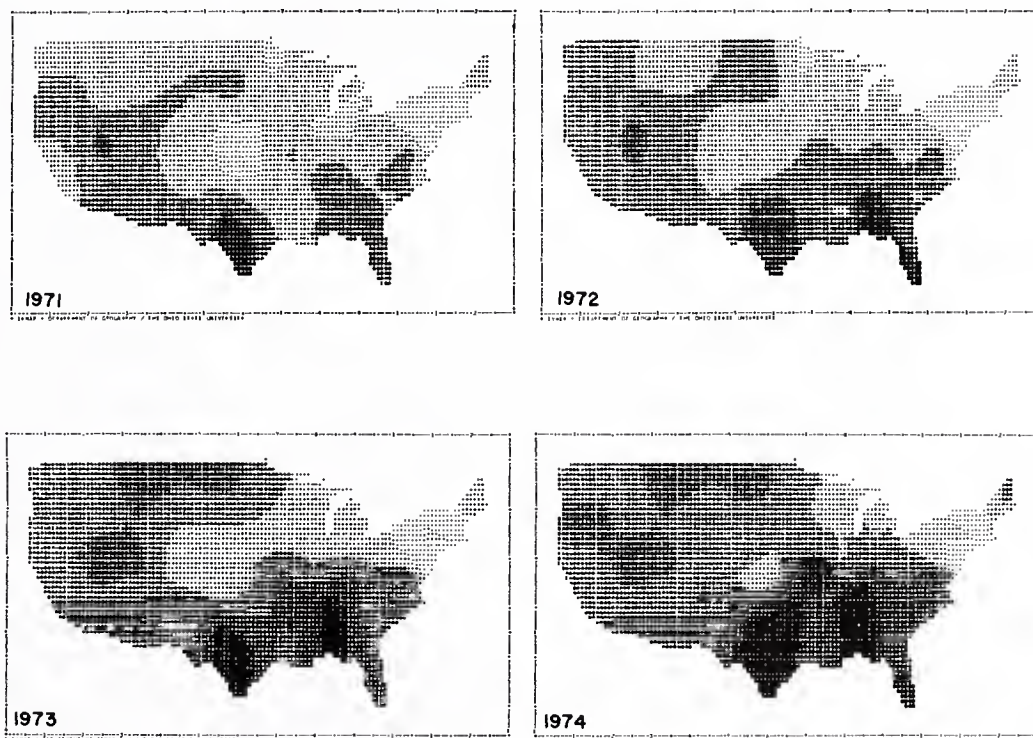
- ¹ Pyle, G. E. 1969. "The Diffusion of Cholera in the United States in the Nineteenth Century," *Geographical Analysis*, 1: 59-75.
- ² Zelinsky, W. 1967. "Classical Town Names in the United States," *Geographical Review*, 57: 463-495.
- ³ Kniffen, F. 1965. "Folk Housing: Key to Diffusion," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 55: 549-577.
- ⁴ Bowden, L. W. 1965. *Diffusion of the Decision to Irrigate*. Chicago: University of Chicago, Department of Geography, Research Paper Series.
- ⁵ Malecki, E. J. and L. A. Brown. 1975. "The Adoption of Credit Card Services by Banks: A Case Study of Diffusion in a Polynuclear Setting with Central Propagator Support," *Studies in the Diffusion of Innovation Discussion Paper Series*, Department of Geography, The Ohio State University.
- ⁶ Ford, L. 1971. "Geographic Factors in the Origin, Evolution and Diffusion of Rock and Roll Music," *Journal of Geography*, 70: 455-464.
- ⁷ Carney, G. O. 1974. "Bluegrass Grows All Around: The Spatial Dimensions of a Country Music Style," *Journal of Geography*, 73: 34-55.

- 8 Bell, W. 1965. "The Diffusion of Radio and Television Broadcasting Stations in the United States," M. A. Thesis, Pennsylvania State University, Department of Geography.
- 9 Berry, F. J. L. 1972. "Hierarchical Diffusion: The Basis of Developmental Filtering and Spread in a system of Growth Centers," in Niles M. Hansen, ed., *Growth Centers in Regional Economic Development*. New York: Free Press.
- 10 Malone, B. C., *Country Music. U. S. A.: A Fifty Year History* (Austin; University of Texas Press, 1968), p. 35.
- 11 See "All States Broadcast Except Wyoming," *The Literary Digest*, 75 (1922), p. 29.
- 12 The Fort Worth *Star-Telegram* for 1922-23 contains a wealth of information concerning the early WBAP barn dance shows.
- 13 Emmet, B. and J. Jeuck. 1950. *Catalogues and Counters: A History of Sears, Roebuck and Company*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, p. 624.
- 14 Newman, C. B. 1957. "Homespun Harmony," *The Wall Street Journal*, 37 (1957), p. 6.
- 15 Malone, p. 195.
- 16 Gentry, L. ed. 1969. *A History and Encyclopedia of Country, Western and Gospel Music*. Nashville: McQuiddy Press. P. 354.
- 17 Interview with Jan Ray Garratt, Country Music Association Archives, Nashville, Tennessee, July 8, 1971.
- 18 The Country Music Association evolved from the Country Music Disc Jockey's Association.
- 19 Telephone interview with Mel Ryan, Vice President and General Manager, Station KRAM, Las Vegas, Nevada, February 16, 1976.
- 20 Telephone interview with Mike Murphy, Program Director, Station KGFX, Pierre, South Dakota, February 16, 1976.
- 21 Jensen, C. R. and M. B. Jensen. 1973. *Square Dancing*. Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press.
- 22 Gould, P. R. 1969. *Spatial Diffusion*. Washington, D. C.: Association of American Geographers, Commission on College Geography, Resource Paper Series. Pp 5-8.
- 23 Malone, pp. 3-4.
- 24 Lomax, A. 1960. *The Folk Songs of North America*. Garden City, New York: Doubleday. P. 153.
- 25 Hudson, A. P. 1934. "Folk Songs of the Southern Whites," in W. T. Couch, ed., *Culture in the South*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. P. 520.
- 26 Owsley, F. L. 1945. "The Pattern of Migration and Settlement of the Southern Frontier," *Journal of Southern History*, 19: 147-176.
- 27 Thompson, W. S. 1955. *Growth and Changes in California's Population*. Los Angeles: The Haynes Foundation. P. 68.
- 28 Beynon, E. D. 1938. "The Southern White Laborer Migrates to Michigan," *American Sociological Review*, 3: 333-345.
- 29 Giffin, R. 1962. "Appalachian Newcomers in Cincinnati," in Thomas R. Ford, ed., *The Southern Appalachian Region: A Survey*. Lexington: University of Kentucky Press.
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- 31 Shelton, R. and B. Goldblatt. 1966. *The Country Music Story*. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill. Pp. 20-22.
- 32 A similar experience was reported by others. Mike Murphy, program director of KGFX in Pierre,

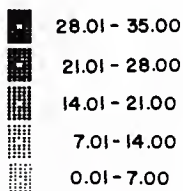
South Dakota, for example, reports that several area stations began featuring country music during the early morning hours and noontime, and the response from rural and small town residents was so positive that they switched to the all-country format. Telephone interview; February 16, 1976.

- 33 Telephone interview with Dave Stone, owner of stations KDAV in Lubbock, KZIP in Amarillo, KPEP in San Angelo, and KPIK in Colorado Springs, Colorado, April 9, 1976.
- 34 See "The Growing Sound of Country Music," *Broadcasting*, 18 October 1965. pp. 69-72.
- 35 Brown, L. A. 1975. "The Market and Infrastructure Context of Adoption: A Spatial Perspective on the Diffusion of Innovation," *Economic Geography*, 51: 185-216.
- 36 Brown, L. A. 1968. *Diffusion Processes and Location: A Conceptual Framework and Bibliography*. Philadelphia: Regional Science Institute, Bibliography Series.
- 37 Moore, E. G. 1970. "Some Spatial Properties of Urban Contact Fields," *Geographical Analysis*, 2: 376-386.

FIGURE 2: THE SPREAD OF THE ALL COUNTRY MUSIC RADIO STATION, 1971-1974

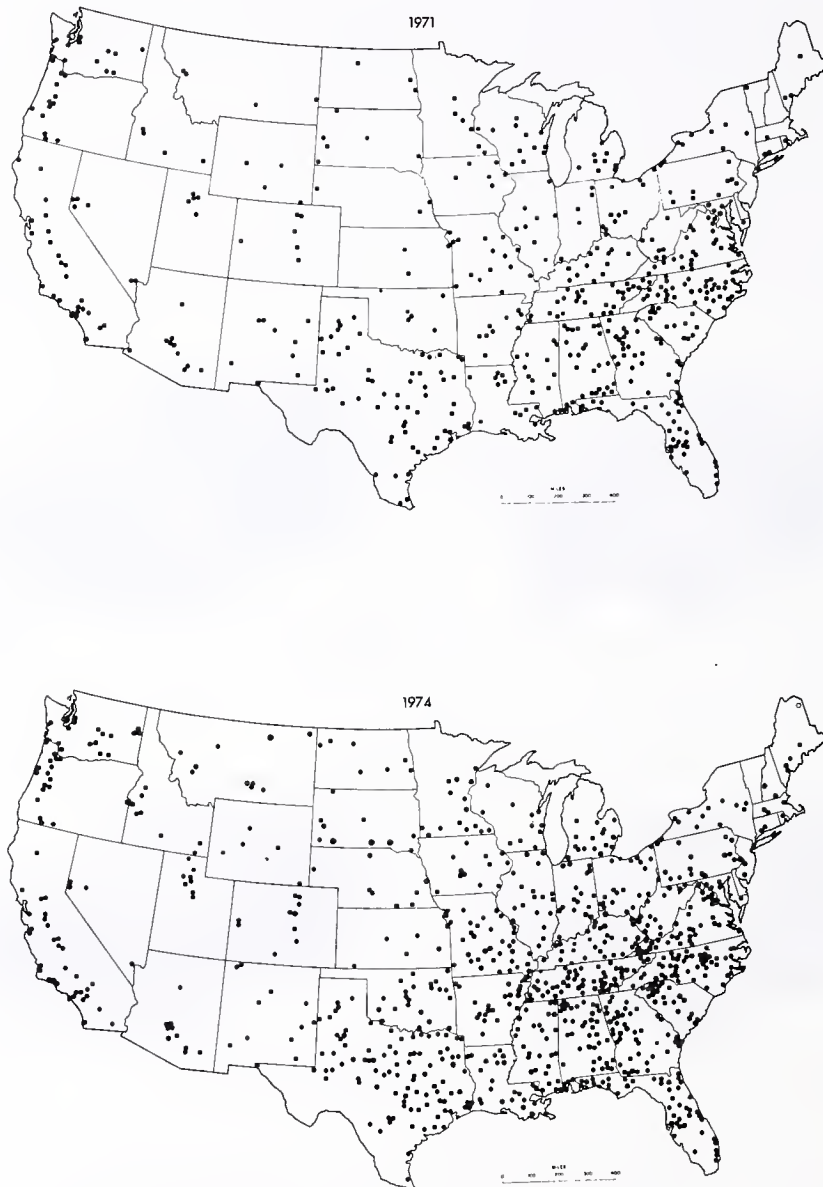


PERCENT OF AM STATIONS WITH AN ALL COUNTRY MUSIC FORMAT



These isoplethic maps are based on the percent of total AM stations in each state that have all country music programming. Data derived from Table 2.

FIGURE 3: THE LOCATIONS OF THE ALL COUNTRY MUSIC RADIO STATION, 1971 AND 1974



SOURCE: COUNTRY MUSIC ASSOCIATION, RADIO STATION SURVEY, 1971, 1974.

THE HIT SONGWRITER THAT NASHVILLE FORGOT (BUT NOT THE REST OF US)

By Johnny Bond

[Singer/songwriter/author Johnny Bond's account of Elsie McWilliams' impact on the career of Jimmie Rodgers complements the feature on the early life of Rodgers, written by Nolan Porterfield, that appeared in the previous issue of JEMFQ. Bond has also compiled a complete Rodgers discography, which will be published by the JEMF shortly.]

Way down south in the land of cotton in Meridian, Mississippi, there dwells today a little old lady, eighty years young, who spends almost all of her time taking care of her invalid husband. About every hour or so her telephone or doorbell rings as some group of visitors from all four corners of the globe comes calling, unannounced, eager to shake the hand that held the pen that wrote so many of those great songs. They ignore the fact that she is totally occupied and implore her to come along with them to the cemetery to visit the gravesite, then stop by the Museum where they bide their time at leisure, going over the many Jimmie Rodgers artifacts, not thinking or realizing that she should be getting back to her patient.

Tourists can be unintentionally a bit inconsiderate at times and on some of these occasions they are so busy admiring the beautiful sights of Meridian that they often take their eyes off the road. Recently, the car in which they were riding collided with another and tragedy was narrowly averted. This was a lucky break for us all, since there are not too many people left on this earth who can say that they actually spent a lot of time in the presence of the great Blue Yodeler.

Elsie Williamson was born June 1, 1896 at Harpersville, Scott County, Mississippi, daughter of the late Reverend and Mrs. J. T. Williamson; there she grew up on the farm, learning music at a very early age in life. When she reached thirteen, the family moved to Meridian where she was graduated from high school in 1917. From there it was on to Beason College, after which she taught school until she met Edwin R. 'Dick' McWilliams, whom she married 16 December 1917. Dick was soon called to "that awful German War," leaving Elsie to work in the Treasury Department in Washington, D. C. for the duration. After his discharge from the armed forces they returned to Meridian to rear a family of two girls, one boy and six grandchildren.

Music and phonograph recording were nothing new or strange to the Williamson family inasmuch

as the Reverend, her father, had made several cylinder records in his time. As a matter of fact, the entire family often took part in church activities while she played the piano and joined in on all of the singing.

In 1920, her sister, Carrie, met a man who was then working for the Vicksburg, Shreveport and Pacific Railroad. Before Elsie was introduced to her famous brother-in-law to be, Jimmie and Carrie were married, after which he became part of the family, as was the custom with the Williamsons.

Elsie remembers that Jimmie played several instruments very well but that his favorites were the guitar and mandolin. The Jimmie Rodgers discographers also point out that he played the ukulele and it is our belief that he did so on certain records. She also remembers that Jimmie formed a little orchestra in their area in which she played the piano on several occasions. Still, her religious upbringing restrained her from getting too deeply involved in that sort of pastime and insured that it was merely that - a pastime.

Even though her brother-in-law was not in the best of health, he and his wife began traveling a lot while he worked at various jobs, either on the railroad or in music or both. He formed a little combination which he named "The Jimmie Rodgers Entertainers." (We will leave it to other Jimmie Rodgers biographers to identify the particular group that traveled with him to Bristol, Tennessee, then left him to go it alone and audition for Victor Records by himself, without a band.)

The next thing Elsie knew was that she and her neighbors were beginning to hear a very familiar voice singing "The Soldier's Sweetheart" and "Sleep, Baby, Sleep." Her brother-in-law was now a Victor recording artist about to make musical history by becoming the "father of Country Music."

Then she got the letter: "Sis," Jimmie wrote her from Washington, D. C. "I am in need of some original ballads (sic) for future recordings and

I am too tired and too busy trying to make ends meet to do much about it myself and I know you can do it as you are always writing up stuff for your church programs."

Well, Sis fixed up several that she had written, one being about a friend who had had a disappointing experience in the Navy. It was called "The Sailor's Plea," and even today when we play the song we have to admit that the "churchy" sound comes through since that was her musical background. She also sent him a railroad song written about a pal of his, Jim Jackson, with whom he had worked on the railroad, not realizing that they had already put down a train song about a man named Ben Dewberry. So it was that Jim Jackson failed to make his mark in musical railroad history alongside names like Casey Jones and "Steve" who drove the old 97 to its doom--not to mention several others.

Still, "The Sailor's Plea" did the trick and Sis was instructed to send no more songs - she was to bring them to Washington where Jimmie was then singing over radio station WTFF while making Victor records in New York and Camden, New Jersey. It wasn't enough for Jimmie to get the songs on paper (tapes, cassettes, and other homemade recordings were not around during those times), she had to be there in person in order to teach him the melodies. Suppose we let sister Carrie, Mrs. Jimmie Rodgers, tell it as she did in her book,

"So - he rushed off frantic word to the Williamson family poetess: Elsie McWilliams, his sister-in-law. Elsie scurried to Washington, bringing with her all the sweet, ancient ballads and quaint ditties she could find in the stacks and stacks of old, once-popular sheet music at Mother's. Bringing too some of her own little verses which, as a more than capable musician, she had set to music. And the music factory started. Day and night; night and day. Snatches of this and that; whang - twang - strum - words - more words. Repetition to drive a bystander mad!"

Well, it may have driven the Rodgers family mad, but the outside world was going mad with joy over Jimmie Rodgers records and they couldn't put them out fast enough to suit us. Seldom in the history of the recording business has any one artist released so many records that were gobbled up by the buying public in such large quantities. Before long Jimmie Rodgers was Number One atop the Victor list of best sellers.

"Better frame it, son," was the advice given to him by one of the Victor distributors. "Save it to show your grandchildren because it shore won't ever happen again." That distributor's crystal ball had gotten way out of focus by a long shot because the Yodeler stayed on top of the list for the rest of his life - and even afterward. So, his grandson has now seen several lists.

In teaching her songs to Jimmie, Elsie recalls that he experienced some difficulty in learning

them exactly the way that she had written them. Then, too, they would be interrupted quite often by his persistent coughing spells. They would just have to wait until it passed.

When it came time to identify the songs with the publisher, Elsie told them that she was doing it only for Jimmie, Carrie, the daughter, Anita; she wanted no credit and no royalties. Still, they insisted that she receive some credit for her wares and somewhere along the line a figure of \$50.00 per song was agreed upon while some were going on the books without her name connected but with her permission.

"But Jimmie and Elsie were all set," continues Mrs. Rodgers in her book.

"They'd been working like mad. Now they were all packed to speed up the factory. There would be the business of completing arrangements about her contract which Jimmie insisted on even though Elsie kept saying, 'Now, Jimmie. What I really want is just to see that you get over and to help any way that I can. I'm not thinking about my part of it. Just too glad to help.' When her first check came she gave every single penny of it to her church. Three hundred dollars."

It is this writer's opinion that Elsie succeeded in her desire to help Jimmie to get 'over.' Her contribution was more than she or the world has realized. Still, she received other rewards: She stated that she got to travel to places that she would not have seen otherwise and he used his influence with the Gibson Guitar Company to make her a \$500.00 instrument which is now on display at the Museum.

Suppose we take a look at some of those songs to find out what they were and what made them so valuable. One of the primary things to keep in mind is the variety of material which both Jimmie and Elsie came up with. It had been his "T. for Texas," or "Blue Yodel Number One," that had really started the snowball rolling. In it he sings about shooting two different people with two different types of firearms: a pistol with a long shiny barrel and a shotgun as long as 'I'm tall.' Those were words that we, the listening public, were not accustomed to hearing in song before. So, how many guns and how many shots and how many victims were to be used in the next record? None! That was part of his image - surprise. He sang about going out on the mountainside all alone just to fritter away his time among the wildlife. He described the final run of Ben Dewberry, then got in jail for rowdiness on the flip side. Where once he had shot at pore Thelma, now he was singing about his lovin' gal, Lucille. Neither lady ever shows up again in his songs.

There was a sameness - the guitar - the yodel; still, there was a difference; a big difference.



Above: Elsie McWilliams at her piano at home, May 1976. (Both photos courtesy author)
Below: Elsie McWilliams at mike singing "The Legend of the Great Jimmie Rodgers"
for Museum dedication, accompanied by her son-in-law, Prynce E. Wheeler.
Man in Fez is her brother's son, Senator Nate S. Williamson.



Let us then include here a Jimmie Rodgers discography as it pertains only to those songs written or co-written by Elsie McWilliams:

14 February 1928 Victor Studios, Camden, New Jersey

BVE 41739-2: THE SAILOR'S PLEA Victor
40054-B, Bluebird 6246
Elsie McWilliams-Jimmie Rodgers
vocal accompanied by The Three
Southerners
guitar/steel guitar/ukulele

12 June 1928 Victor's Church Studio #1, Camden,
New Jersey

BVE 45090-2: MY OLD PAL Victor 21757-A,
Bluebird 5609
Elsie McWilliams-Jimmie Rodgers
w/guitar only

BVE 45091-5: MISSISSIPPI MOON Vi 23696-B,
Bb 5136
Elsie McWilliams-Jimmie Rodgers
w/guitar/steel guitar/ukulele/bass
(unissued-remade Feb. 4 & 5, 1932)

BVE 45093-2: MY LITTLE OLD HOME DOWN IN NEW
ORLEANS Vi 21594-A, Bb 5609
Elsie McWilliams*-Jimmie Rodgers
(*no credit given most cases)

BVE 45094-2: YOU AND MY OLD GUITAR Vi 40072-B,
Bb 5083
Elsie McWilliams-Jimmie Rodgers
vocal w/guitar

12 June 1928 (second session)

BVE 45095-2: DADDY AND HOME Vi 21757-B, Bb 5991
Elsie McWilliams-Jimmie Rodgers
vocal w/guitar

BVE 45096-2: MY LITTLE LADY Vi 40072-A, Bb 5991
Elsie McWilliams-Jimmie Rodgers
vocal w/guitar

BVE 45097-2: I'M LONELY AND BLUE vocal
w/guitar unissued

BVE 45098-2: LULLABY YODEL Vi 21636-A, Bb 5337
Elsie McWilliams-Jimmie Rodgers
vocal w/guitar

BVE 45099-3: NEVER NO MO' BLUES Vi 21531-B,
Bb 6225
Elsie McWilliams-Jimmie Rodgers
vocal w/guitar

22 October 1928 Atlanta, Georgia

BVE 47223-4: WAITING FOR A TRAIN Vi 40014-A,
Bb 5163
Elsie McWilliams*-Jimmie Rodgers
(*no credit given)

BVE 47224-5: I'M LONELY AND BLUE Vi 40054-B,
(no Bluebird)
Elsie McWilliams-Jimmie Rodgers
vocal w/orchestra

8 August 1929 Dallas, Texas Jefferson Hotel
Ballroom

BVE 55307-2: EVERYBODY DOES IT IN HAWAII
Vi 22143-B (no Bluebird)
Elsie McWilliams-Jimmie Rodgers
vocal w/orchestra

BVE 55308-3: TUCK AWAY MY LONESOME BLUES
Vi 22220-A, Bb 5664
Elsie McWilliams*-Jimmie Rodgers
(*no credit given)

12 August 1929 Dallas, Texas Jefferson Hotel
Banquet Hall

BVE 55345-3: HOME CALL Vi 26381-A (no Bb)
Elsie McWilliams-Jimmie Rodgers
vocal w/orchestra

22 October 1929 Dallas Texas Jefferson Hotel
Banquet Hall

BVE 56449-4: WHISPER YOUR MOTHER'S NAME
Vi 22319-B, Bb 5057
Elsie McWilliams*-Jimmie Rodgers
(*no credit given)

BVE 56454-3: YODELING COWBOY Vi 22271-B,
Bb 5991
Elsie McWilliams-Jimmie Rodgers
vocal w/guitar

BVE 56455-3: MY ROUGH AND ROWDY WAYS
Vi 22220-B (no Bb)
Elsie McWilliams-Jimmie Rodgers
vocal w/2 guitars

BVE 56456-3: I'VE RANGED, I'VE ROAMED AND
I'VE TRAVELED Bb 5892 (no Vi)
Elsie McWilliams*-Jimmie Rodgers
(*not given full credit)

13 November 1929 New Orleans, Louisiana

BVE 56528-3: HOBO BILL'S LAST RIDE
(Although writer's credit to
this song has been given to
Waldo O'Neal, Mrs. McWilliams
states that she rearranged the
story and composed the music.)

25 November 1929 Atlanta, Georgia

BVE 56594-4: MISSISSIPPI RIVER BLUES
Vi 23535-A, Bb 5393
Elsie McWilliams*-Jimmie Rodgers
(*no credit given)

BVE 56595-4: NOBODY KNOWS BUT ME Vi 23518-A
(no Bb issue)
Elsie McWilliams-Jimmie Rodgers
vocal w/guitar

26 November 1929 Atlanta, Georgia

BVE 56603-3: SHE WAS HAPPY TILL SHE MET YOU
Vi 23681-B, Bb 5057
Elsie McWilliams-Jimmie Rodgers
(Officially, this is the last time
that Elsie's name shows up as co-
composer of some of the songs.
However, according to her reports,
she did assist on others, includ-
ing some of the Blue Yodels.)

28 November 1929 Atlanta Georgia
 BVE 56619-3: THAT'S WHY I'M BLUE Vi 22319 (no Bb)
 Jimmie Rodgers
 (no credit given to EM)

 30 June 1930 Hollywood, California
 PBVE 54849-3: MY BLUE EYED JANE Vi 23549-A,
 Bb 5393
 Jimmie Rodgers-Lulu Belle White*
 (*This was her niece. Elsie states
 that she had to rewrite the song
 before Jimmie would use it.)

 10 June 1931 Louisville, Kentucky
 BVE 69413-3: THE WONDERFUL CITY LPM 2865
 Duet with Jimmie Rodgers and Sara
 Carter, with Maybelle on autoharp.
 (Writer's credit is given to Jimmie
 but EM evidently collaborated.
 When she reviewed this work prior
 to submitting it for publication,
 Elsie added this note: "They did
 not use my tune since I was not
 there to teach it to him.")

So, we have revealed here for the first time
 some of the other songs that were either written
 or co-written by Elsie McWilliams. All of this,
 of course, with her knowledge and approval.

When the first Jimmie Rodgers records began
 to 'click' (as Mrs. Rodgers puts it in her book),
 Jimmie's radio announcer, Ray McCreath, at WTFF,
 Washington, D.C., not only gave him the handle,
 "America's Blue Yodeler," he began booking the
 new star in various locations in and around the
 Nation's Capitol. Soon the asking price was up
 to a thousand dollars a week which meant that he
 had to 'hit the road,' as it were, taking Carrie,
 Anita and Elsie with him on most of these trips.
 Dallas, Atlanta, New Orleans and other points
 south were added to his itinerary. Elsie went
 along to try to get new inspirations for songs
 while Ralph Peer was bringing along his port-
 able recording equipment to make new records.

I asked Mrs. McWilliams if she could relate
 any particular experiences during these trips
 and this was her answer:

"I don't remember many unusual incidents
 during the recording sessions as it was
 mostly business and work, but a few things
 happened that I have never told and don't
 know if I should do so now.

"Being reared by a Methodist minister, I
 am pretty straight-laced about a lot of
 things and Jimmie tried to loosen me up
 a bit to give me more color in my writ-
 ings. The most drastic experience was
 in New Orleans when he and Paul English
 and a lady from New York invited me to
 go to a show, which I gladly accepted,
 but after we got there and had seats
 down near the front of a crowded theater,
 I discovered that it was a burlesque
 show and I asked to be allowed to leave,
 but Jimmie said, "Now, Sis, you don't

want everyone to see you walking out
 and report back home, do you?" Well,
 of course, I didn't want that so I
 sat through it - and - it wasn't
 quite so bad as I had thought it
 might be.

"Another time we were invited to a
 very swanky dinner party and after-
 wards Jimmie wanted me to see the
 gambling parlors. At the entrance
 were lots of slot machines and they
 told me to put a coin in, but I
 wouldn't so they did it for me and
 hit the jackpot. Jimmie told me to
 pick up the coins but I said they were
 not mine and didn't want them. They
 said they did and gathered them in.
 We went into the main gambling parlor
 and Jimmie and the lady with us indulged
 enough to win a little and lose a lot,
 so I was real upset about that exper-
 ience and the effort to give me color
 only came from the blush on my face -
 I guess."

Then I asked her if there were any of her
 songs laying around that she might have sub-
 mitted for some of his recording sessions but
 which were rejected. She sent these two:

"I am enclosing two that Jimmie was the
 inspiration of. When he asked me to write
 "Carrie, Anita and Me," or, "Home Call," I
 made two versions, so I changed the name of one
 to "My Little Sweetheart and Me." He told me
 to write about the Mississippi Delta, but after
 he recorded other similar songs he never asked me
 about mine again so he never heard most of them."

"FOR MY LITTLE SWEETHEART AND ME"*

Words and music by Elsie McWilliams

There's a little spot that I know,
 Far from the ice and the snow;
 Away down south beside a silver sea
 Where I'm going to build my love nest
 Just a dainty little dove rest FOR
 MY LITTLE SWEETHEART AND ME.

chorus

Though the world is calling to me,
 Why should I care to roam?
 When I think how happy I'd be
 In my cozy little home.
 I'll strum my guitar while I sit in
 the swing,
 That hangs from an old shade tree.
 Where wild flowers bloom and mocking
 birds sing
 FOR MY LITTLE SWEETHEART AND ME

verse two

There'll be loving arms there to greet me,
 Little feet will run out to meet me
 In the Dear Old Southland where I long to be.

When the evening shadows are falling
I can hear the home life calling
To MY LITTLE SWEETHEART AND ME

repeat chorus

*Copyright 1977 by Elsie McWilliams; used by permission.

"MY MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HOME"

Words and music by Elsie McWilliams

How my thoughts go back today
To the times I used to play
In the fields and meadows 'round my Delta
Home.

For ever since I left the plain,
I'm longing for to be back again,
There I want to settle down, no more to
roam.

chorus

I can see the old folks there
Sitting by an open fire;
I can see the cotton fields all snowy white,
I can see my sweetheart too
As she waits so sad and blue.
How I wish that I was there with them tonight.
Oh, how I regret the day that I ever went
away;
I'm so sorry that I ever chose to roam
For my heart is there I know
And it's calling me to go
To MY MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HOME.

two more verses

*Copyright 1977 by Elsie McWilliams; used by permission.

When I pointed out to Mrs. McWilliams that the Jimmie Rodgers-Elsie McWilliams team of songwriters came to an official end on or about 26 November 1929 her explanation was:

"He probably did not ask me for more songs after this as he had more time to write and lots of people were asking him to use their songs, and I was very busy with my family."

She also wrote "My Bluebonnet Home," "Last Thoughts of Jimmie Rodgers," and "The Passing of Jimmie Rodgers," which were recorded by Ernest Tubb on his first sessions. Bill Bruner also recorded one of her songs, "Schoolday Dreams."

It is regrettable that time and space does not permit us to go deeper into the life and career of Elsie McWilliams. She states that she has had offers from various sources to write her full story complete with all of the songs, but that she was just too occupied to take the time to do it. In these few pages we have merely scratched the surface, but we do hope and trust that we have shed some light upon the life and career of a most gracious lady, without whose assistance and talent the Jimmie Rodgers' records may not have been quite the same as we now know them to be. She gave her

all to help him make it to the big time and that's all that she wanted. The record shows that she succeeded.

We couldn't help asking for her summation about Jimmie, so here's what she had to say:

"Jimmie, of course, knew that he was going to go. He sang "My Time Ain't Long" and we all knew it. I tried to comfort him by talking to him about Heaven and even though he told us that he didn't want to die, he admitted that Heaven would be a wonderful city to live in.

"I just remembered the great crowd of people at the depot and the continual mournful sound of the train whistle as it rolled slowly in. He lay in state at our beautiful Scottish Rights Cathedral while hoards of people passed to view his remains. After the beautiful services in Central Methodist Church, he was laid to rest in Oak Grove Cemetery at sunset while "The Wonderful City" was played softly in the distance. It was most impressive.

"The many visits and stacks of fan mail I receive from far and near keeps me happy knowing that through Jimmie I have been able to spread a little joy and happiness throughout the world. Just this week (Sept., 1976) I had letters from Birmingham, England; Australia and New Zealand, with interesting visitors from Texas, Louisiana, Alabama, also four from Canada."

Our deepest thanks go out to Elsie McWilliams, not only for her great contribution in song so nobly sung by "The Greatest," but for giving us a brief insight into the heart and soul of one who was very close to him and has taken time to share her thoughts with us.

-- Burbank, Calif.



• VOCAL I

JIMMIE RODGERS ♦ ♦

This record (No. 22488) ANNIVERSARY BLUE YODEL and ANY OLD TIME is of interest because it marks the third year during which this popular artist has been on the Victor roster. Several years ago a Victor representative chanced to hear Rodgers sing. He was playing his own



JIMMIE RODGERS

accompaniment and punctuating the texts of his songs with the yodeling that has become a part of his vocalizing. The tremendous appeal . . . the home-y quality of the voice and personality behind it . . . that those songs expressed impressed the Victor man. And as a result everybody can enjoy Jimmie's singing, and his personality, too, for it is evident in his many records. Listen to these two songs . . . you'll like them both!

COMMERCIAL MUSIC GRAPHICS #41

BRUNSWICK'S FOLKSONG DISCS, 1928

By Archie Green

In a decade of commentary on art and advertisement surrounding recorded folk or folk-like music, I have tried in this series' previous features to use the written word to complement selected visual material. At times, I have searched out the background and symbolism of a particular item; at times I have placed such an item in a context of time and place. For this present feature, which opens a second decade of exploration, I reproduce a graphic piece with the confession that I know little of its specific history. Hence, I appeal to readers to supply data not only about the *Brunswick Record Edition of American Folk Song* shown here, but also about related material.

It is difficult to coin a short or substitute name for the rather formidable title of this Brunswick item. It is neither company catalog, dealer's release sheet, nor performer's handbill. Rather, it combines the functions of all these and more. The lead column on page one of the *Record Edition* establishes a definition of "true American folk songs" and indicates their value to Harvard University. By analogy, Brunswick's talent scouts and recording engineers in "the mountains of the South" are comparable to Harvard's scholars and archivists.

With this premise safely established, the *Record Edition* becomes a treasure house of biographical detail about many artists--individual and groups. Some, such as Bascom Lamar Lunsford, are well known until this day. Others, such as A. H. Holland (preacher on Sundays, telegraph operator weekdays), are still unknown to collectors and to students. The publication closes with a complete alphabetical list of Brunswick's Dixie Records: "Alcoholic Blues" (#148) to "Zion's Hill" (#246). Within this list one finds a numerical sequence from "Billy the Kid" (#100) through "Dwelling in Beulah Land" (#258). Curiously, the order blank at the bottom of the list does not mention the price per single record (75 cents at that time).

A tiny detail at the very bottom of the last page's order blank is important. The firm's code number for this piece of commercial printing includes the *Record Edition's* publication date: October 23, 1928. Hence, we know that Brunswick's Dixie series had reached label number #258 by autumn 1928. In a second edition of the publication readied at year's end the front-page column of "Folk Song History" was deleted, and replaced by a list of recently pressed "Popular, Sacred, Old Time

and Southern Folk Songs." These new listings within issue number two advanced then-available releases through "I Am Coming Home, Lord" (#272). In all details except this front-page, left-hand column the two numbers of the *Record Edition* were identical, printed from the same plates.

The Brunswick first edition publication reproduced here is extremely rare, for the only copy known to me belongs to Pekka Gronow in Finland, and it is through his courtesy that we use it. Only two copies of the second edition are known to me; one belonged to the late Buell Kazee. Many years ago he permitted me to make a xerox copy of it. I trust that the original, along with his other rare papers, is now safe in a library or archive. Whether or not the *Record Edition* was continued beyond number two, I do not know. Neither do I know whether or not other collectors hold additional copies of the first and second issues.

A word on the Brunswick "Songs from Dixie" series may help new readers. During 1925 Brunswick began to record old-time fiddle and banjo music as well as frolic songs and ballads by Bill Chitwood and Bud Landress. Their first issued record held "Jerusalem Mourn"/"Howdy Bill" (#2809). This catalog number in the 2000 block indicates placement in the firm's then-current popular series. From occasional old-time items within a popular series to a self-contained old-time set was a big step dictated by the economics of competition and imitation in the mid 1920s. Accordingly, the Dixie series opened in April 1927 and closed in about March 1933 with "Mariechen"/"Bumel Petrus" by a Municipal Band (#601). This seems a strange ending for a bedrock American folk sequence. Actually, from our special perspective, label number 600 would have been a more appropriate finale in that it held Glen Rice and the Beverly Hillbillies doing "Back in the Old Sunday School"/"Cowboy Joe." (The entire Brunswick Dixie listing, #100 through #601, was printed serially in issues 31-34 of *JEMFQ*.)

We have been able to reconstruct most of the basic factual data about this Dixie series: master and label numbers, recording dates and sites, release dates, song titles, etc. We know also parallel release numbers on sister and

overseas labels. All of these technical data have been assembled over the years by a fraternity of devoted collectors. Many can be named--one who deserves special praise is Will Roy Hearne, a founding advisor for the John Edwards Memorial Foundation. In my early visits to Will Roy, I was continually amazed by his files of thousands of slips holding esoteric information needed to underpin my folksong case studies.

A personal and bittersweet response to the *Brunswick Record Edition of American Folk Song* is a reminder of failure. Despite the efforts of all the discographers and ballad scholars, who have contributed over the years to *JEMFQ* (or to related journals), we still are confronted by great blank spaces on our maps and charts. Specifically, we lack published business histories for Victor, Columbia, Gennett, Edison, Paramount, Vocalion, Brunswick, and the other pioneer firms which did so much to preserve and extend traditional music in the United States. We do not see and hear our music from the perspective of the men who lived by the rules of ledgers and fiscal reports.

It is true that discographers, in compiling numerical lists, have unearthed some company history. For example, we know that the Brunswick-Balke-Collender Company made furniture, billiard room and bowling alley equipment, store fixtures, and fine cabinets before it undertook to build phonographs and to issue records in 1920. In a few short years it inaugurated many popular, classic, and non-English language (foreign) label blocks or series. The two of main interest to folklorists are the 7000 race series and the 100 hillbilly series. Among the best reissues of folk music, black and white, for early urban audiences of folksong enthusiasts were two albums (each of four 78 rpm, ten-inch discs), *Listen to Our Story* and *Mountain Frolic*. Alan Lomax edited these in 1947 from Brunswick and Vocalion masters, then in Decca vaults. Eventually these pioneer folk reissues reappeared on Japanese LPs and were imported into the United States during the 1970s as choice collector's items.

The very first item in Brunswick's *Record Edition* of 1928 makes a fascinating footnote which complements the inclusive standards of selection by Alan Lomax in his post-war editorial work. In the 1920s folk material was generally separated for sales purposes into hillbilly and race blocks. The Dixie 100 series, featured here, was obviously white. Yet it opened, alphabetically, with De Ford Bailey's "Alcoholic Blues" (#148). The artist, a black harmonica player, was an early performer on the Grand Ol' Opry. Despite harsh treatment, De Ford Bailey anticipated by half a century some of Nashville's contemporary convergence in style and appeal.

In addition to discographic data, we also know something of the complicated switches in ownership during the Depression when the Brunswick label was purchased, in April 1930, by Warner Brothers Pictures and, later, in December 1931, by the Consolidated Film Industries. In 1938, the Brunswick Record Corporation (as well as the American Record Corporation) was acquired by the Columbia

Broadcasting System, though in the same year Decca purchased the rights to pre-1932 Brunswick and Vocalion material. Only a few specialists seem to have had the patience to trace the labels of the 1920s and 1930s into post-New Deal and post-World War Two years. Obviously, for current reissue projects we should know the legal claims for all early material.

As vital as it is to establish label sequence and ownership genealogy, it is also important to know something of the values and strategies of officers who guided record companies in the decade when these firms reached out to folk music. We do have some biographical data on Polk Brockman, Ralph Peer, Frank Walker, and other A & R men who steered Okeh, Victor, and Columbia into the byways of submerged, regional music. Who performed this task for Brunswick? Who conceived the *Record Edition* reproduced here? Who gathered the biographical information on the many performers represented? Who wrote the copy? Who geared a sales pitch to folksong appeal? It is in this area of company personnel and policy that we need many more clues and leads than the meager data at hand.

It is my own past visits with Buell Kazee, Dock Boggs, Charlie Bowman, and Tony Alderman (all of whom had recorded for Brunswick in the late 1920s) I learned the name of one Brunswick A & R man, James O'Keefe. I recall an anecdote that he, also a performer, joined in on some of the sessions, both as a singer and a pianist. But I know nothing else about O'Keefe's skills or talents. I must assume that he had something to do with shaping Brunswick's spectacular Dixie series. Can any reader help? Did O'Keefe span the entire series 1927-1933, or did other associates continue his work? Did O'Keefe leave any correspondence? Are any of his relatives available to students?

I close with a few words from the *Record Edition's* lead story: Brunswick "recorded the best of (folksongs) on imperishable discs which will gain in value with the passing years." Few promotional statements from 1928 have stood the test of time as well as this one. Whether or not a collector in 1977 is partial to Uncle Dave Macon, Clark Kessinger, Roy Harvey, Al Hopkins, Humphrey Bate, Jack Reedy, or any of Brunswick's other fine artists does not matter. These men were giants in their talents and repertoires. And their "imperishable discs" have gained tremendously in value. I refer not only to the obvious monetary worth of discs to collectors, but also to cultural value. Part of the ability to hear and measure our nation's artistry comes from the availability of traditional songs on record such as "Ground Hog," "Faded Coat of Blue," "Sioux Indians," "Casey Jones," and "Standin' in the Need of Prayer." Brunswick's scouts and engineers, indeed, did document aspects of American experience as well as, if not better than, their peers in Harvard's libraries and classrooms.

-- San Francisco, Calif.

Brunswick

RECORD EDITION

OF AMERICAN FOLK SONGS



Published by BRUNSWICK-BALKE-COLLENDER CO
MANUFACTURERS OF
BRUNSWICK RECORDS, PANATROPES
AND RADIO RECEIVERS



FOLK SONG HISTORY

Tennessee Mountaineers Give Birth to Only True American Folk Songs

All music started with the natural desire to express varying emotions. Probably the first love song was sung by a bird at mating time . . . the first lullaby, the song of the mother bird. When we are happy we whistle or sing at our work. Most of us whistle or sing songs made familiar through repeated hearings, but before the phonograph and radio made it possible to hear "composed music" as frequently as we can today, people used to make up original tunes of their own and fit them with their own words. These simple songs, invented by the people, were called Folk Songs. They were generally written to celebrate some occasion . . . a wedding . . . a death . . . a birth, a victorious battle or a defeat . . . a current or historic event. Minstrels would travel about the country singing these songs of their native land, which, before the invention of the printing press, were about the only means of dispensing news. "Comin' Thro' the Rye" is a typical Folk Song and tells of the ancient custom of the young men of Scotland, who were privileged to exact a kiss for carrying a maiden dry shod over the River Rye.

The only True American Folk Songs . . . considering the definition of a Folk Song as a freely composed song of the people relating current happenings of importance, without any particular regard to a set musical form, are the songs of the Southern Mountaineers. Like the minstrels of old, the modern Bards of our southern mountains go about singing the simple songs of the people's own making . . . relating the gruesome details of a local murder . . . the latest scandal of the community . . . the horror of a train wreck . . . the sorrow of unrequited love, etc. The simplest of accompaniments are used, generally a guitar, a fiddle, a banjo or a harmonica and the voices of the singers are untrained except in the school of "singing songs."

Desiring to obtain a collection of these Original American Folk Songs, the Brunswick Company sent its newly developed electrical recording apparatus down into the mountains of the South, where it recorded the best of them on imperishable discs which will gain in value with the passing years. These records are made by local artists of prominence to whom these songs are the most serious things in all music . . . however droll they may sound to the uninitiated. Harvard University has a valued collection of the original manuscripts of many of these Dixie Songs recorded by Brunswick, showing the historic value of them in the eyes of the foremost institution of learning in America.



McCravy Brothers

Every record by the McCravy Brothers is a "gem" . . . sung with that simplicity and sincerity, which is only found today in the small towns where folks still attend "meetings" for the good of the soul, and not just to show off a new hat.

Engaged in Evangelistic work throughout the South, the McCravy boys are widely known and beloved by the people. Their voices blend beautifully, one brother carrying the tenor against the other's baritone, and their diction is perfect, every word being distinctly pronounced.

Their recording of "Will The Circle Be Unbroken?", Brunswick Record No. 194, is one of the most popular of all the sacred records available in America. Of their secular recordings, "Mandy Lee," Record No. 198, is to be especially recommended. The introduction of "The Wedding March," from Lohengrin, played by the orchestra between verses with chime effects, is very appropriate and very beautiful. Hear it by all means, and when you turn the record, you will find another treat in store for you—"The Trail of the Lonesome Pine."



The Tennessee Ramblers

GIRL PLAYS GUITAR WITH HER FEET

Ladies and what you brought with you: Right this way for the Girl Guitar-Playing wonder of the world. Plays with the Guitar held behind her—plays the instrument with her feet. Right this way to hear Willie Seivers—Champion Woman Guitarist of the World. Willie challenges any woman guitarist to open contest—the winner to have possession of the Gold Medal now held by Willie. The Tennessee Ramblers, furthermore challenge any four-string band to open contest for World's Championship. We advise any band seriously considering taking up this challenge to first hear Record No. 257, a real fiddlers' contest in which each player does a solo stunt. Tune in on Radio Station WNOX, Knoxville, Tenn., some night and hear this band which is a regular program feature on this station.

BLIND MUSICIANS

Still Get a Kick Out Of Life And American Folk Songs

The loss of sight has not seemingly placed a serious handicap on McFarland and Gardner. Comrades since their boyhood school days, they go about the country singing and playing . . . prime favorites at a country dance, a prayer meeting or a Social Party. Their record of that old Civil War Song, "When the Roses Bloom Again,"



McFarland and Gardner

record No. 111, is selling like proverbial "hot cakes," people in Chicago alone buying 25,000 copies of this record.

McFarland and Gardner best selling records to date are:

- 160 I Will Sing of My Redeemer
When Our Lord Shall Come Again
- 169 The Bright Sherman Valley
The East Bound Train
- 190 The Old Rugged Cross
Rock of Ages
- 199 Seeing Nellie Home
Weeping Willow Tree
- 202 The Two Orphans
You'll Never Miss Your Mother
Till She's Gone
- 203 The Drunkard's Dream
May I Sleep In Your Barn
Tonight, Mister?

Blind Couple Earn Money as Singers

John B. Evans was born blind. After graduating from the School for the Blind in Romney he tried to make a living selling papers. Failing to make both ends meet at this work he took the advice of a friend and learned to play the guitar. He is a popular idol of the townsfolk now who gather around him on street corners and listen to his singing of the old southern songs. Often Evans is accompanied by his wife who is partially blind and whose pleasing soprano voice blends prettily with her husband's. The contract signed with the Brunswick Company to make records came as a real boon to these blind musicians.

John Evans' first Brunswick Record is No. 237 Three Nights' Experience
The Kicking Mule



Dr. Humphrey Bate and His Possum Hunters



Flat Creek Sacred Singers

Preacher on Sundays— Telegraph Operator Weekdays

Everyone south of the Mason-Dixon line has heard of the Flat Creek Baptist Church and the Flat Creek Sacred Singers. The pastor of that little church in the hills is A. H. Holland who works during the week as a railroad telegraph operator to feed his family and preaches on Sundays to glorify the works of God. The other members of the Flat Creek Singers are Benj. Propes, leader of the choir and father of the soprano, Shellie Propes Mundy, and also of the basso, James Marlowe Propes. James Bagwell, the baritone, is a miller by trade, Uncle Bennie is an industrious farmer, and James Propes is a barber in Gainesville, Ga. They form an interesting, serious minded, industrious group, singing for the love of God and music and are famed through Georgia for their personal appearances and throughout the rest of the land for their Brunswick Record No. 236,

Look Away to Calvary
Mother, Tell Me of the Angels.

Records Mountaineer Songs For Harvard University

Bascom Lunsford, known as the Minstrel of the Appalachians, has the largest collection of Southern Mountaineer Songs in the world.

Hundreds of them were recorded for Harvard University for their Historic value. They were collected on Mr. Lunsford's roaming through the mountains as school teacher, Fruit Tree Expert, Political Stump Speaker, and as Bee Expert. Many a mountain home has been made happy by Bascom Lunsford's singing of the old songs while an overnight visitor. He plays the fiddle, banjo and guitar, is a college graduate and a lawyer of renown, but owes his tremendous popularity to his musicianship.

Anyone hearing his Brunswick Record No. 219 will immediately realize that here is unusual talent.



Bascom Lunsford

Even Cork Legs Get Lively When Doc Bates Plays

All Hands Round . . . Swing your partners . . . those who can't get a partner get a drink. Dr. Humphrey Bate and His Possum Hunters are at it again, playing old-time dance tunes that just get everybody stepping. There's Doc, himself with his old harmonica, leading the band. Never think this fellow was a serious country doctor . . . but he is, daytimes. And that fellow calling off the dance in loud, raucous voice and picking the hanjo between whiles, that is Walter Liggett the stock trader. Oscar Stone, the hardwood floor finisher and proud father of ten little Stones, swings a wicked fiddle bow as does Farmer Bill Barrett. Farmer Stanley Walton and Merchant Paris Bond twang the guitars while Oscar Albright, Farmer, does the Um-Pah stunts on the big Bull Fiddle. As one old fellow with chin whiskers and a chew of tobacco, settin' over in the corner says, "Durned if that music don't come nigh ter puttin' life in the old cork leg." All Tennessee knows and loves this outfit which takes its name of Possum Hunters from the fact that no matter how good business may be, Huntin' takes precedent over everything else when the season is on with Doc Bates and His Possum Hunters.

Don't fail to hear their Brunswick Records:

- 243 Take Your Foot Out of the Mud
Dill Pickle Rag
- 239 Billy In the Low Ground
Eighth of January
- 232 Goin' Up-Town
How Many Biscuits Can You Eat?

This Band is heard regularly over Radio Station WSM, Nashville, Tenn.

IRONTON BUSINESS MEN

Form Popular Orchestra

One of the most popular dance orchestras of southern Ohio, Kentucky and West Virginia is "The All Star Entertainers", a band composed of Ironton, Ohio, business men who work days and play nights. George S. Lambert is the drummer and manager and Earl Murdock, though blind since birth, is the most versatile musician in the organization and plays every instrument except the trombone. Mr. Murdock is the Brunswick dealer of Ironton, and the other members of the band are employed in various local industries. They have made some great Brunswick records, the latest of which are:

- 245 You've Found the Only One—
Waltz
Gypsy Love Song—Waltz from
Victor Herbert's "Fortune Teller"
- 226 Come to me
Dream of Heaven

ENGINEER PLAYS "HOME" ON L

Roy Harvey was a locomotive engineer on a mountain Railroad in Virginia until the strike in 1923 threw him out of employment. It was said that he could play "Home, Sweet Home" on the whistle of his locomotive as well as on the guitar, on which instrument he is a master performer. He sings, accompanied by the North Carolina Ramblers, another famous Southern organization, and they are in great demand to play for old-fashioned dances which are as popular today as they were thirty or forty years ago. Old folks and young mingle on the dance floor and respond to the Rambler's music and the "Call Offs" with a joyous abandon that will never be found in your more formal modern dance hall. So far Roy Harvey and his Ramblers have recorded three excellent records for Brunswick.

- 223 There'll Come a Time
There's a Mother Old and Gray
Who Needs Me Now
- 234 I'll Be There, Mary Dear
As We Parted At the Gate
- 250 The Bluefield Murder
George Collins

Vocal Teacher College S



Buell Kazee and His

Buell Kazee is a trained singer and a vocal teacher of renown, but he sings the old songs of his native Mountains with that same simple appeal which makes them so different from the "High Brow" music of the music studio. He says, "Occasionally I have a chance to sit in a poor home where there are old people. I love to play their old pump organ and sing the 'good old songs' to them. When tears come to their eyes I feel that I have done a good service."

That, after all, is the great thing about

The WORLD'S BEST

Model 9-8



Brunswick
Panatrop
Exponential Type

Price \$95
Complete

Convenient Terms

Brunswick Panatrop

ME SWEET COMOTIVE WHISTLE



Roy Harvey

Cumberland ngs Dixie Songs



place at Burton Fork

Dixie Songs . . . their appeal to the finer emotions which cause the tear ducts to open and Buell Kazee knows how to sing these songs which were so closely associated with his early life in the mountains.

Don't miss the following records by Kazee:

- 213 The Butcher's Boy
- The Wagoner's Lad
- 206 The Faded Coat of Blue
- Don't Forget Me, Little Darling
- 210 Snow Deer
- Red Wing

producing Instruments



Model 5KR

Brunswick Radio

Price **\$95**

Without Tubes Convenient Terms

and Brunswick Radio



Kessinger Bros.

WORK EASY PLAY HARD

And Never Exceed Your Capacity

That is Lonesome Luke's message to his many Brunswick friends.

Lonesome Luke says he was born in Ground-Hog Hollow, Kanawha County, which is so far back in the sticks that the Groundhogs gobble like turkeys. He learned to play the family guitar, unknown to his sleeping parents, by stealing into the woods late at night, when a small boy. His brother, Clark, was given a fiddle by his father while he was laid up with a broken leg in the hospital. Before he was fourteen years old he had earned enough money with it, playing for dances, to pay off the mortgage on the home farm. Clark and Luke left the home farm and journeyed to Charleston where they soon became famous playing for dances and are known throughout the land as the Kessinger Brothers.

Their Brunswick Records are:

- 238 Garfield March
- Kanawha March
- 235 Turkey In the Straw
- Hell Among the Yearlings
- 220 Goodnight Waltz
- Wednesday Night Waltz
- 247 Arkansas Traveller
- Forked Deer

BOY MAKES BANJO

From Old Sieve and Groundhog Skin



Jack Reedy

When a boy wants to learn music he will go to any extreme. Jack Reedy had no banjo and his parents could not afford to buy one for him. Therefore he made one from an old ash sieve and a groundhog skin and soon played so well on it that his older brother bought him a real Banjo. Jack entered the Banjo Playing Contest of the South and won the \$300.00 cash prize.

Hear his Brunswick Record No. 221, Chinese Breakdown Ground Hog



Fatal Train Wreck

Through the dark and rainy night, the Atlanta Express was speeding with Ben Dewberry at the wide open throttle. The passengers were peacefully sleeping and all was well.

As on many previous runs, Dewberry took a dangerous curve at top speed. The tracks must have been slippery, perhaps there was a defective rail . . . the locomotive left the track and plunged down the embankment strewn wreckage and human bodies behind it. The engineer was killed and many of the passengers. Such is the gruesome story told by Frank Marvin on Brunswick Record No. 253, "Ben Dewberry's Final Run." On the other side Frank sings of "The Brakeman's Blues" and does a little yodeling and accompanies himself on the guitar.

Brunswick Record No. 254

The Bum Song, Vocal with Guitar
Hallelujah, I'm a Bum

Francis Luther

Two clever songs on a Bum subject—don't miss them.

Musician's Father And Brother Killed In Mine Explosion



Warren Caplinger's Cumberland Mountain Entertainers

Warren Caplinger, commonly known as "Cap," was given his first fiddle by an uncle at the age of twelve. He learned to play it alone by picking out the mountain tunes he had heard. Later he took up the guitar, mandolin and 'cello in the same way. When sixteen years old he was famous in the mining camp in which he lived and worked as a dance musician and Call Off announcer. While away on a visit, Warren's father and older brother were killed in a mine explosion which caused him to give up mining. He roamed all over the country for several years, working at various trades and playing until the call of the home mountains became too strong to resist. He returned to the Cumberlands and married, and is now settled on his own farm. His band of five musicians plays for dances and concerts given in schools and churches and their two Brunswick Records are popular everywhere. Don't fail to hear them:

- 241 Big Ball in Town
- Saro
- 224 McDonald's Farm
- Nobody's Business

Complete List of Brunswick Dixie Records

Order any of these records by number only, on the order blank below

- | | | |
|---|--|---|
| <p>148 Alcoholic Blues De Ford Bailey
109 Are You Tired of Me, Darling McFarland, Gardner
247 Arkansas Traveller Kessinger Brothers
225 Arkansas Traveler The Tennessee Ramblers
234 As We Parted At the Gate Harvey N. C. Ramblers
248 Away Out On the Mountain Frank Marvin</p> <p>117 Barbara Allen Vernon Dalhart
253 Ben Dewberry's Final Run Marvin and His Guitar
241 Big Ball in Town Caplinger's Cumb. Mt. Entertain.
239 Billy In the Low Round Bate and His Possum Hunters
102 Billy Richardson's Last Ride Vernon Dalhart
100 Billy, The Kid Vernon Dalhart
134 Birdie John and Emery McClung
175 Black Eyed Susie Hopkins and His Buckle Busters
250 Bluefield Murder, The Harvey and N. C. Ramblers
180 Blue Ridge Mt. Blues Hopkins and Buckle Busters
248 Blue Yodel Frank Marvin
249 Blue Yodel Number 2 Frank Marvin
182 Boatin' Up Sandy Hopkins and His Buckle Busters
253 Brakeman's Blues, The Marvin and His Guitar
169 Bright Sherman Valley, The McFarland, Gardner
104 Bristol Tennessee Blues Hopkins' Buckle Busters
104 Buck-eyed Rabbits Hopkins and Buckle Busters
182 Bug In the Taters Hopkins and Buckle Busters
254 Bum Song, The Francis Luther
116 Bull of the Town McFarland and Gardner
213 Butcher's Boy, The Buell Kasee</p> <p>223 Cackling Pullet The Tennessee Ramblers
178 Casey Jones Al Bernard
177 C. & O. No. 558 Hopkins and His Buckle Busters
135 Chicken John and Emery McClung
235 Chickens in the Barnyard Kessinger Brothers
221 Chinese Breakdown Jack Reedy and String Band
105 Cinda Al Hopkins and His Buckle Busters
205 Climbing Up De Golden Stairs Kanawha Singers
176 Cluck Old Hen Hopkins and His Buckle Busters
226 Come to Me All Star Entertainers
120 Cotton-eyed Joe Dykes' Magic City Trio
131 Country Blues "Dock" Boggs
244 Cowboy's Dream, The Marc Williams
138 Cowboy's Evening Song Vernon Dalhart
138 Cowboy's Herding Song Vernon Dalhart
141 Cowboy's Lament Ewen Hall
114 Cross-eyed Butcher and Cackling Hen Macon</p> <p>174 Daisies Won't Tell Hopkins and His Buckle Busters
132 Danville Girl "Dock" Boggs
228 Darby's Ram Bascom Lamar Lunsford
154 Darling Cora Buell Kasee
112 Death of John Henry Uncle Dave Macon
193 De's Bones Gwine Rise Again Frank, Jas. McCravy
256 Devil's Dream Kessinger Brothers
113 Diamond in the Rough Uncle Dave Macon
243 Dill Pickle Rag Bate and His Possum Hunters
146 Dixie Flyer Blues De Ford Bailey
206 Don't Forget Me, Little Darling Buell Kasee
108 Down By the Riverside McFarland and Gardner
184 Down to the Club Hopkins and Buckle Busters
142 Down On the Farm "Dock" Boggs
118 Down South Blues All Star Entertainers
226 Dream of Heaven The McFarland and Gardner
203 Drunkard's Dream, The McFarland and Gardner
258 Dwelling in Beulah Land McGhee and Welling
137 Dying Cowboy, The Vernon Dalhart</p> <p>169 East Bound Train, The McFarland and Gardner
103 East Tennessee Blues Hopkins and Buckle Busters
154 East Virginia Buell Kasee
180 Echoes of the Chimes Hopkins and Buckle Busters
239 Eighth of January Bate and His Possum Hunters
153 Engineer's Dream, The Vernon Dalhart
148 Evening Prayer Blues De Ford Bailey
206 Faded Coat of Blue, The Buell Kasee
184 Feller That Looked Like Me Hopkins' Buck. Bust.
257 Fiddler's Contest, A The Tennessee Ramblers
247 Forked Deer Kessinger Brothers
122 Frankie Dykes' Magic City Trio
129 Fun Little Bird Dykes' Magic City Trio
134 Fun is All Over, The John and Emery McClung</p> <p>246 Garden of My Heart Rev. Holstein, Sister Holstein
238 Garfield March Kessinger Brothers
250 George Collins Harvey and The N. C. Ramblers
228 Get Along Home, Cindy Bascom Lamar Lunsford
123 Get Away, Old Man, Get Away Vernon Dalhart
166 Going Down the Valley One by Old So. Sac. Sing.
232 Goin' Up-Town Bate and His Possum Hunters
120 Golden Slippers Dykes' Magic City Trio
189 Golden Slippers Kanawha Singers
242 Goodbye, My Lover, Oodbye Kanawha Singers
220 Goodnight Waltz Kessinger Brothers</p> | <p>106 Gov. Alf Taylor's Fox Chase Hopkins' Buck. Bust.
221 Round Hog Jack Reedy and His String Band
245 Gypsy Love Song-Walts All Star Entertainers
122 Oopsy's Warning, The Vernon Dalhart</p> <p>158 Hail West Virginia Kanawha Singers
254 Hallelujah, I'm a Bum Francis Luther
107 Hand Me Down My Walking Cane McFarl. Gard.
133 Hard Luck Blues "Dock" Boggs
222 He Abides McGhee and Welling
189 Hear Dem Bells Hopkins and His Buckle Busters
171 He Carved His Mother's Name McFarland, Gard.
235 Hell Among the Yearlings Kessinger Brothers
222 Hide Me McGhee and Welling
233 Hiding in the Shadow of the Rock Pearson
114 Hold On To the Sleigh Uncle Dave Macon
137 Home On the Range, A Vernon Dalhart
172 Home Over There, The Old Southern Sacred Singers
164 I'm Free Again Dykes' Magic City Trio
121 House At the End of the Lane Dalhart, Robison
232 How Many Biscuits Can You Eat Bate Pos. Hunt.
129 Huckleberry Blues Dykes' Magic City Trio</p> <p>161 I Am Bound For the Promised Old So. Sac. Singers
125 Ida Red Dykes' Magic City Trio
204 If Jesus Leads This Army Howard Haney
155 If You Love Your Mother Buell Kasee
164 I'll Be All Smiles Tonight McFarland, Gardner
234 I'll Be There, Mary Dear Harvey N. C. Ramblers
152 I'm Alone in This World Blue Ridge Gos. Singers
191 I'm a Twelve O'Clock Feller Bernard, Gully Jump.
164 I'm Free Again McFarland and Gardner
195 I'm Forever Blowing Bubbles McFarland, Gardner
152 I'm Ooing Home to Die No Blue Ridge Gos. Sing.
255 Indiana Kanawha Singers
201 In the Garden McFarland and Gardner
249 In the Jail House Now Frank Marvin
196 I Shall Not Be Moved Frank and James McCravy
136 It's a Long Way to Tipperary John, Em. McClung
192 I Want to Go There Frank and James McCravy
100 I Was Born Four Thousand McFarland, Gardner
160 I Will Sing of Thy Redeemer McFarland, Gardner
219 I Wish I Was a Mole In the Ground Lunsford
251 I Would Not Be Denied McGhee and Welling</p> <p>192 Jacob's Ladder Frank and James McCravy
143 Jealous Lover of Lone Green Valley Dalhart
144 John Hardy Buell Kasee
179 Johnson Boys Al Hopkins and His Buckle Busters
165 Just Break the News to Mother Old So. Sac. Sing.</p> <p>237 Kicking Mule, The John B. Evans
238 Kanawha March Kessinger Brothers
240 Keep On the Firing Line Howard Haney
106 Kitty Waltz Al Hopkins and His Buckle Busters
110 Knoxville Gal McFarland and Gardner</p> <p>141 Lavender Cowboy Ewen Hall
195 Let the Rest of the World Go By McFarl., Gardner
156 Little Mohee, The Buell Kasee
135 Liza Jane John and Emery McClung
236 Look Away to Calvary Flat Creek Sacred Singers</p> <p>224 McDonald's Farm Caplinger's Cumb. Mt. Entert.
198 Mandy Lee Frank and James McCravy
203 May I Sleep in Your Barn Tonight McFarl. Gard.
140 Meet Me Tonight in Dreamland Vernon Dalhart
252 Melancholy Yodel Blues Jack Major
139 Miner's Doom, The Vernon Dalhart
153 Mississippi Flood, The Vernon Dalhart
122 Mollie Darling Vernon Dalhart
236 Mother, Tell Me of the Angels Flat Cr. Sac. Sing.
219 Mountain Dew Bascom Lamar Lunsford
147 Muscle Shoal Blues De Ford Bailey
121 My Blue Ridge Mount. Home Dalhart, Robison
107 My Carolina Home McFarland and Gardner
102 My Little Home in Tennessee Vernon Dalhart
151 My Loved Ones Are Waiting Blue Ridge Gos. Sing.
142 My Mother's Old Red Shawl Vernon Dalhart
165 My Mother's Prayers Have Fol. Old So. Sac. Sing.</p> <p>143 Nellie Dare and Charlie Brooks Vernon Dalhart
113 Never Make Love No More Uncle Dave Macon
177 Nine Pound Hammer, The Hopkins' Buckle Bust.
234 Nobody's Business Caplinger's Cumb. Mt. Entert.
159 Nothing Between Old Southern Sacred Singers
133 New Prisoner's Song "Dock" Boggs</p> <p>258 Old Account Was Settled Long McGhee, Welling
157 Old Maid, The Buell Kasee
126 Old Plantation Melody Dalhart and Robison
190 Old Rugged Cross, The McFarland and Gardner
161 Old Time Religion, The Old South. Sacred Singers
145 Old Whisker Bill, the Moonshiner Buell Kasee
255 On the Banks of the Wabash Kanawha Singers</p> | <p>112 On the Dixie Bee Line Uncle Dave Macon
190 On a Good Old-Time Straw Bernard, Gully Jump.
150 On the Hills Over There Blue Ridge Gospel Singers
166 Onward, Christian Soldiers Old So. Sac. Singers
217 Orphan Girl, The Buell Kasee
151 O Why Not Tonight Blue Ridge Gospel Singers</p> <p>146 Pan American Blues De Ford Bailey
123 Pretty Little Dear Vernon Dalhart
132 Pretty Polly "Dock" Boggs
116 Pretty Polly McFarland and Gardner
127 Poor Little Ellen Dykes' Magic City Trio
211 Poor Little Orphan Boy Buell Kasee</p> <p>210 Red Wing Kasee and Hobbs
136 Return of Mary Vickery, The Vernon Dalhart
186 Ride That Mule Hopkins and His Buckle Busters
145 Rock Island Buell Kasee
190 Rock of Ages McFarland and Gardner
144 Roll On, John Buell Kasee
186 Roll On the Ground Hopkins and Buckle Busters
103 Round Town Oals Hopkins and Buckle Busters
156 Roving Cowboy, The Buell Kasee</p> <p>159 Safe In the Arms of Jesus Old South. Sac. Singers
105 Sally Ann Al Hopkins and His Buckle Busters
131 Sammy, Where Have You Been So Long Boggs
241 Sars Caplinger's Cumberland Mountain Entertainers
237 Satisfied The Tennessee Ramblers
153 Seeing Nellie Home McFarland and Gardner
155 Ship That's Sailing High, The Buell Kasee
125 Shortening Bread Dykes' Magic City Trio
197 Silver Threads Among the Gold Fr. Jas. McCravy
149 Sing On, Brother, Sing Dalhart, Robison, Hood
240 Sioux Indians Marc Williams
193 Six Feet of Earth Frank and James McCravy
210 Snow Deer Kasee and Hobbs
233 Someone is Praying For You Maury Pearson
157 Sporting Bachelors, The Buell Kasee
119 Standin' In the Neeu of Prayer W. Va. Snake Hunt.
178 Steamboat Bill Al Bernard
118 Sugar Baby "Dock" Boggs
174 Sweet Bunch of Daisies Hopkins' Buckle Busters
201 Sweet Hour of Prayer McFarland and Gardner
205 Swing Low, Sweet Chariot Kanawha Singers</p> <p>243 Take Your Foot Out of the Mud Bate Pos. Hunt.
120 Tennessee Oirls Dykes' Magic City Trio
252 Tennessee Mountain Gal Jack Major
242 That Good Old Country Town Kanawha Singers
251 There's Power in the Blood McGhee and Welling
223 There'll Come a Time Harvey, N. C. Ramblers
223 There's a Mother Old and Gray Harvey Ramblers
111 There's No Disappointment in McFarland, Gard.
100 Three Drowned Sisters, The Vernon Dalhart
237 Three Night's Experience John B. Evans
140 Till We Meet Again Vernon Dalhart
115 'Tis a Picture From Life's Old South. Sac. Sing.
171 'Tis Home because Mother is McFarland, Gardner
198 Trail of the Lonesome Pine, The Fr. J. McCravy
235 Turkey In the Straw Kessinger Brothers
150 'Twill Be Glory Bye and Bye Blue Ridge Gos. Sing.
202 Two Orphans, The McFarland and Gardner</p> <p>147 Up Country Blues De Ford Bailey
213 Wagoner's Lad, The Buell Kasee
119 Walk In the Streets of Olory W. Va. Snake Hunters
220 Wednesday Night Waltz Kessinger Brothers
199 Weeping Willow Tree McFarland and Gardner
158 West Virginia Hills Kanawha Singers
172 What a Friend We Have in Jesus Old So. Sac. Sing.
160 When Our Lord Shall Come Again McFarl. Gard.
149 When the Moon Shines Down Upon Dalh., Rob.
111 When the Roses Bloom Again McFarland, Gardner
196 When the Saints Go Marching Fr. Jas. McCravy
126 When the Sun Goes Down Again Dalhart, Robison
244 When the Work's All Done This Fall Williams
194 When They Ring the Golden Bells F.J. McCravy
197 When You and I Were Young, M. F.J. McCravy
156 When You Were a Tulip and John, Em. McClung
115 Where We Never Drow Old Old So. Sac. Singers
240 Willie, The Weeper Marc Williams
194 Will the Circle Be Unbroken Fr. Jas. McCravy
179 Whoa, Mule Al Hopkins and His Buckle Busters
117 Wreck of the C. & O. No. 5, The Vernon Dalhart
101 Wreck of the Royal Palm, The Vernon Dalhart
101 Wreck of the Number Nine, The Vernon Dalhart</p> <p>109 You Give Me Your Love and I'll L. McFarland
202 You'll Never Miss Your Mother McFarland, Gard.
245 You've Found the Only One-Waltz All Star Ent.
108 You're As Welcome As the Flowers L. McFarland</p> <p>246 Zion's Hill Rev. Holstein and Sister Holstein</p> |
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TEX RITTER IN THE TWILIGHT YEARS

By Texas Jim Cooper

[Texas Jim Cooper is President of the Tex Ritter Fan Club. A review of Johnny Bond's biography of Ritter will be found in the Book Review section of this issue of JEMFQ.]

It was 2 January 1974; Wednesday, approximately 6:19 P. M. Tex Ritter, hero in sixty Hollywood Westerns and patron saint of Country Music, sat in a chair at the county jail in Nashville, Tennessee, talking and laughing as the man for whom he had put up bail was being processed for release. All of a sudden, the show business legend went limp and pale, the victim of a heart attack which minutes later at Baptist Memorial Hospital would take his life.

The sixty-eight-year-old performer died as he had lived--with compassion for his fellow man, with undisputed integrity in all he did, and with an amazing vitality which only seemed to accelerate with the passing of years. The last ten years of Tex Ritter's life were filled with virtually as much activity and accomplishment as any ten years of his existence. The man may be gone, but his legions of worshippers find an evergreen inspiration in the memories of his makeup and his marvels which paint for posterity a portrait rich in color and mood of . . . Tex Ritter in the twilight years.

Tex Ritter entered the last decade of his life by being elected in October 1963 to the first of two terms as president of the Country Music Association (CMA). In a quiet yet persuasive manner, Ritter guided the CMA into a period of unmistakable achievement which saw the trade organization obtain, first, a site to erect the Country Music Hall of Fame building; second, the establishment of a research library; and third, the formal support of a form of music which attained global acceptance and appreciation. Ritter, in his stately demeanor, served the CMA in many ways. He was, as the occasion required, moderator, mediator, mentor. Even as he tapered off in his assumption of high command in the last years, he remained in the forefront of CMA thought and choice, and he ultimately served the organization as executive vice-president and director-at-large. He remained, even to the last week of his life, CMA's resident roving ambassador, speaking at every hand and spreading good will for Country Music. Clearly, without question the immortal Voice of High Noon was the voice of an industry and, more importantly, the voice of an era.

Midway in his presidency of the CMA, Ritter was accorded the highest honor of his Country Music career--election to the Country Music Hall of Fame. He was the second living person to be inducted. Frances Preston, vice-president of the Broadcast Music, Inc. and CMA board chairman, delivered a

tribute address: "This year's choice is one of the most worthy that will ever be made in the annals of our field of endeavor. His story can never be completely told because it would take more hours than we can count to praise his artistry, his contributions, and his devotion to his chosen work.

He has inspired the shaped the lives of many young entertainers, not only with a kind word, a bit of advice, or a helping hand, but by setting an example that could only be an inspiration to anyone fortunate enough to know him. Outside of the fact that he has excelled as a performer in every facet of show business and is one of our great living legends, his personal dedication to his fellow artists is a beautiful thing to behold.

. . . He is powerful, yet gentle. He is commanding, yet attentive. He is forceful, yet compassionate. When you talk, he listens--when he talks, everybody listens. If personal problems are being discussed, they are never his. If there is an inconvenience, it is never his. But, when you need him, he is always there."

Again, Tex Ritter found himself in the national limelight when he signed a lifetime contract with WSM, Inc. and became a regular member of the Grand Ole Opry. He had lived within the shadow of Hollywood since the mid-1930s and Hollywood had served as his base of operations for the strand of years marking his greatest impact as Capitol Records' first Country-Western artist and as Hollywood's most traveled performer. But as Country Music grew in its commercial appeal, Nashville became the center, the capitol, the mecca for Country artists. By 1965, Tex himself was already being booked by a Nashville agency, Acuff-Rose; he was also flying in every weekend or so to guest on the Opry as well as to meet with CMA officers. His decision to move his base of operations culminated long-standing negotiations and efforts on the part of WSM to bring Ritter there permanently, and the event was treated with appropriate pomp and ceremony.

Tex Ritter made his first regular appearance on the Opry on 12 June 1965; in conjunction with Ritter's permanent move to WSM, Capitol Records released a new single by him, "Take Him Fishin'" backed with "Bummin' Around." Ritter performed

the first number on the Opry and the performance was filmed, along with an interview, for an ABC-TV special, "Anatomy Of Pop: The Music Explosion." Although he had made thousands of television appearances, including those on three series of his own, the ABC special was unique in that he represented the field of Country Music in a cast of musical legends like Richard Rodgers, Tony Bennett, Gene Krupa, the Dave Clark Five, the Temptations, and the Supremes.

Ritter's Opry affiliation was enhanced by his taking on the added duty, for two years, as co-host, first with Grant Turner and then with Ralph Emery, of the radio program, "Opry Star Spotlight."

The excitement of joining the Opry in 1965 set the stage for a testimonial dinner in Tex's honor the next year. It was given as a California farewell to the long-time resident who was moving to "a new range" and new adventures on the Nashville horizon. Presented by Ritter's Masonic affiliation, Metropolitan Lodge #646, on 15 June 1966, the occasion was more than a celebration of Ritter's signing with WSM; it took into consideration that the month marked his twentieth-sixth year with Capitol and his twentieth-fifth wedding anniversary.

Billboard reported that the gala occasion, which drew more than 500 Masonic brothers, music associates, and personal friends, was an evening filled with the bouquets of friendship. The *Billboard* correspondent wrote from Los Angeles that "Presentations of plaques, certificates, and scrolls were tendered the Capitol artist by a score of organizations and artists."

The year of 1967 was notable in the life of Tex Ritter for several reasons: he had a hit record characteristic of his inborn ability to project heart-to-heart feeling; he revealed a personal philosophy which had carried him through four decades of performing; and he hosted the CMA's first yearly awards program in the field of Country Music.

When "Just Beyond the Moon" was released in February 1967, it was the crowning glory on a string of songs by the veteran performer which might be appropriately labeled Country-Soul. It ranked thirteenth on *Billboard's* Country chart, attained the number nine place on a Record World survey, and rated third on a Country Music Life poll of top ten hits in New England.

The recording, which inspired a best-selling album of the same name, was a heart-tugging tale of a middle-aged couple whose love for one another outlasted even the separation which comes with death. Ritter was at the right age to do the song personal justice, and his voice exhibited the proper degree of inflection to show that had a special feeling for the song.

"It was written out on the West Coast by Jeremy Slate," Ritter said later of the song. "My mother survived my father by about three years and the song kind of hit home. So, I recorded it."

The year 1968 is remembered by Country Music fans as the year that Tex Ritter was hijacked to Cuba. It was an impressionable event which captured the public imagination. Tex saw the humor of the situation and made the most of it.

Tex and golf-pro Mason Rudolph boarded the plane as Nashville at 9:04 A. M. on 11 December and were among the thirty-two passengers caught on the hijacked Boeing 727 jet, which also carried the hijacker and his female companion. Tex was settled down in his seat, reading a newspaper, when Trans World Airlines pilot Dennis Maloney radioed the home tower in Nashville: "A guy has a gun at my back. He is forcing us to go to Havana. We are proceeding there (now)."

The big jet landed safely at Jose Marti Airport at 12:27 that afternoon. The passengers were detained at the airport almost seven hours while Cuban authorities questioned the hijacker. The authorities put on a show of concern for the passengers, who were fed steaks, sandwiches, and beverages, said Tex later. Asked if the excitement of the dramatic hijacking could compare to the Westerns he had made, Tex smiled and said: "Very similar, except there was no posse."

The novelty of the experience was such that the former cowboy star received some amount of good-natured chiding because he had not put a stop to the hijack. His colorful way of weaving an answer later became a highlight of his stage presentation for several years. "My sons had grown up on my movies where I used to eat two or three gunmen for breakfast," Tex would drawl, "and they didn't understand why I didn't capture the hijacker single-handed. They asked me if I was getting old and soft. Not wishing to admit this, I finally told them I couldn't do anything because I didn't have my horse with me."

On his return to Nashville, Tex found he was in the limelight. Front-page headlines cap-suled his Cuban exploit, and television series, including "The David Frost Show," booked him to talk about his experience. But the memory-maker was the Curly Putman-Bobby Braddock composition which comically recaptured the event--"A Funny Thing Happened to Me on the Way to Miami."

1969 found Tex Ritter exerting such influence as Country Music's leading ambassador that he helped to bring about the Country Concerts in the White House. It was through Tex Ritter that Johnny Cash appeared before President Richard Nixon, an event which paved the way later for appearances by such luminaries as Merle Haggard, Buck Owens, and Tennessee Ernie Ford. Tex usually resisted attempts to take credit for the event, so it remains to recap the historic occasion through the memory of his lovely widow, Dorothy Fay.

"President Nixon and his staff had asked Tex to have a Country Music show in the White House. I think your readers would be happy to



Above: Ritter upon his return to Nashville, after his flight to Florida was hijacked to Cuba (December 1968)

Below: Tex Ritter entertaining at WSM's Cerebral Palsy telethon (6 March 1971)



know that President Nixon was the first and only President who supported Country Music to the extent that, not only did he inaugurate having Country Music programs in the Gold Room (Ballroom) of the White House but, also every year proclaimed October as National Country Music Month. So," recalled Mrs. Ritter, "that when Tex was asked to emcee the first program, I heard him discussing it with one or two other friends and saying, 'Well, if I take a program there, I could ask one artist to sing two-three songs, another artist to sing two-three songs. But, you know, I think it would be good if we could have a concert by one personality.' And so he said, 'I'm going to suggest Johnny Cash.' Well, of course, they (Nixon's staff) thought that was wonderful, and Johnny did, too."

When the event was finally scheduled to occur, Tex Ritter was on a promotional tour of Europe for Capitol Records. The recording company was so impressed by Nixon's regard for Tex's judgment concerning the concert that it flew Tex in to Washington, D. C. from Copenhagen, Sweden. According to Dorothy Ritter, the occasion was made memorable by the fact that the four rows of chairs were elevated, giving a better view of the performing platform. She pointed out that Cash had his full ensemble of talent on hand to perform for the President.

"It was so interesting, because Johnny Cash had Mother Maybelle and the Carters, and he had the Statler Brothers and the Tennessee Three," said Dorothy. "We had the nice four chairs sitting in the front row just to Johnny's right. President and Mrs. Nixon were sitting directly in front of Johnny, with a space for a dance floor between the platform and the row of seats. "Johnny kept looking over at Tex and raising his eyebrows, and Tex kept smiling and winking and giving him support. Of course, Johnny was very pleased he had been asked, but I think he was a little excited about the responsibility of doing a good show. But it was lovely, and afterwards, there were many friends of Country Music there with Senators and Representatives and wives of Cabinet members. We had a fine dinner and dancing to a military orchestra. It was a very lovely experience, and we enjoyed it."

Tex Ritter moved into the last few years of his life with an accelerated pace. These years were busy years, filled with action and achievement. His zest for living and for doing at a fast clip took its toll on his body, but it kept his mind and spirit young--younger than his years. His was a rigid schedule, but, overall, he thrived on it. Tex could dream of taking it easy--"I think there's too much rushing around. I'm happy to play the Opry, do an occasional tour, and go off hunting when I can"--but he had too much to accomplish, and there was never enough time. For heroes and humanitarians, there is never enough time.

Though he had so little time for himself, he

made certain that he gave time to the American servicemen in Vietnam. When he toured there in the late 1960s, he and his band worked as far as 250 miles inside enemy lines to entertain American GI's. Accompanied by armed escorts, the Ritter troupe flew into trouble zones to entertain wounded soldiers at three different hospitals. While he was at one hospital, five helicopters landed outside, moving in the wounded. Ritter felt so stirred by the Vietnam situation that he extended his two week tour so that it lasted almost a month. Later, on his return to the States, he summed up his visit: "You know there's a war going on there. But we found the morale to be pretty high. They seemed to be happy to see us. We were kind of a hit over there. We want to go back."

But Tex did not make it back. He had reached a point in his life when the respect of his friends and admirers caused him to follow their urging by announcing his candidacy for the United States Senate.

It was a hard campaign. Although Tex was defeated by Tennessee State Representative William Brock, no candidate fought any harder to win in an uphill battle than did Tex. Tex was gifted with the common sense, compassion, and honesty needed to fill the position, and he tried hard to project Tex Ritter the man, the citizen, and the patriot and not the performer. Many people came to the Ritter rallies hoping to hear Tex sing, but he came to speak, and his speeches were filled with native wisdom, scholarly intellect, and nurtured knowledge of the American people.

"So, when you've lived as long as I have, traveled like I have, and talked with as many people as I have, you get in tune with the desires, needs, and expectations of people. You get to know what people want government to do for them, and, more importantly, what the people can do for their government," Tex offered early in the race.

Later, he added: "I entered this race to give the people of Tennessee a choice between the liberal left and extreme right."

As the campaign wore on, it was obvious that his opponent's financial accessments and standing success in politics made a difference. Tex would draw the listeners but not the voters. He realized the edge Brock held, and admitted it. "The other fellow (Brock)," declared Ritter, "has been building fences for a long time. I just bought the barbed wire in January. I haven't even started to put the staples in yet."

Ritter, a Republican, was no stranger to the political arena. In the past, he had campaigned for such political personalities as Howard Baker, George Murphy, John Tower, Barry Goldwater, and Ronald Reagan. In addition, he emerged as the most popular entertainer among the "Celebrities For Nixon."

Alert, energetic, and quick, the political science major from the University of Texas maintained a hard-hitting campaign of meeting the people and expressing his views. Frequently, he surprised everyone, just as he did when he unexpectedly appeared at a meeting of party officials and candidates in Bill Brock's home territory.

Those present, particularly the favored son, Brock, had thought that Tex would be somewhere else in Tennessee. But, as the meeting got into full gear, the door swung open to reveal a familiar figure in business suit and cowboy hat. The white hat hero who had headed them off at the pass in scores of Western films was now trying to head them off at the political pass. If nothing else, he did catch them off guard.

His sudden appearance was unnerving, and his reception was anything but warm as the assembly attempted to regain its composure by giving Brock a standing ovation when he spoke. Slowly, Tex began to bring the audience around with a display of campaign teasing: "I even stood in front of your billboards and tried to talk to you, Bill, but you wouldn't look at me."

The Country Music industry rallied behind its patron saint as men like Chet Atkins, Archie Campbell, Johnny Cash, and Roy Acuff lent their names and services to the Ritter campaign. Establishing a first for the music industry, sixty top acts donated their time and talent to entertain at Ritter rallies. But, even a million dollars worth of music could not offset Brock's well-organized political machine. In the end, when the votes were cast on that notes 7 August 1970, Brock won with 161,009 votes to Tex Ritter's 48,635 votes.

Tex was disappointed but not destroyed by the outcome of the election, as his statement afterwards so clearly illustrates: "We had a nice time. We enjoyed it. We knew it was going to be rough when we entered it, but we gave it a go."

The political votes did not come as expected, but the continuous stream of awards and honors which came Tex's way right up to the end made up for it all.

Notably, special distinctions came to Tex every year of the last five he lived. In 1967-68, Belgium fans voted Tex fourth in a poll of that country's most programmed male artists. In 1969, his home state honored him, along with Bob Wills and Ernest Tubb, as an outstanding native son in the field of Country Music. In 1970, the International Western Apparel Market bestowed on him its Pioneer Man of the Year Award, and the following year the Academy of Country and Western Music accorded him a similar honor. Late in 1971, Tex was honored for his composition of "Dear John, I Sent Your Saddle Home" and inducted into the Nashville Songwriter's Hall of Fame. On 31 July 1972, Country Music artists and officials gathered

in Houston for "Tex Ritter Day" an occasion to salute the honoree for his years of dedication to the arts and to his country. And, on 19 October 1972, Tex Ritter received the CMA Founding President's Award for "outstanding service to the Country Music Association." In presenting the award, Connie B. Gay, founding CMA president, described Ritter as "the greatest ambassador Country Music has ever had."

The last named honor was partly in recognition of his triumphant tour that spring which opened up Australia, New Zealand, Japan, and China to Country Music artists from the United States. Tex had been selected by the United Nations and the CMA to head a nine-member delegation of Country artists on a 30,000 mile tour of the Far East area for the purpose of raising funds for the relief of the needy women and children of Bangladesh.

The journey was made by plane and train over twenty-three days time in May 1972, and served to introduce name singers from the States to the enthusiastic Country fans in the four countries. Although local talent enjoyed favor in the countries, natives were hungering for personal appearances of American talent, and proved it by buying their tickets well in advance of the concerts. Many shows were sold out a month in advance, and many concerts were typified by a standing room only situation. And it was often because many of the fans had a desire to see Tex Ritter.

His reputation had preceded him, and the overseas audiences yearned to view the flesh and blood legend they had heard about. When he appeared in their midsts, it was the fulfillment of the reputation and the proof of the person.

Connie Smith, one of the tour artists, revealed that Tex Ritter generated an excitement which was "electrifying." She went into detail to depict the impact Tex had on the foreign fans: "Tex was surely the star of the show. I felt that way, and I know the other artists did, too. He was fantastic. . .electrifying. . .Everything he did was great, but they especially liked 'Hillbilly Heaven' and 'Rye Whiskey.' Their reveration and admiration for him was an awe-like thing. When he walked out on stage in Japan, he got a standing ovation. One lady in Japan, when she saw him walk on stage, burst into tears of joy."

Tex's final year was characterized by six notable events. On 4 February 1973, Tex Ritter found himself in Austin, his college stomping grounds of fifty years before. He was joined in headliner honors by ABC-TV co-anchor man Harry Reasoner, actress Jo An Pflug, and humor columnist Erma Bombeck in an awards event culminating the presentation of press awards to the area's outstanding journalists. It was also a time of lively humor, with friendly barbs launched in fun at the dignitaries, who traded laugh for laugh at a Texas-style

roasting. Tex, sharply dressed in tux, string tie, and ruffled shirt, participated fully in what was to be one of his very last visits to Texas.

That August, he also participated in a different type of appearance. With his wife, he was able to come to Memphis for one day of the Western Film Festival. He had never been one to overstate his career as a Western screen star. It was not that he did not enjoy that phase of his career but, realistically-speaking, making movies was a means of making a living, and when that work faded, he went to other pursuits, little realizing that he had become a part of motion picture history. Now, thirty years later, new legions of fans were personally preserving the old films and turning out in swelling numbers to view the Western classics, and Tex Ritter was impressed. He was moved to the point of speaking in behalf of the film festivals which were not only showing the treasured B-Westerns but were bringing in their stars like Ritter, Lash LaRue, Monte Hale, Kirby "Sky King" Grant, and Peggy Stewart to hob-nob with their fans. Tex Ritter himself appeared perhaps twenty-five years younger when he sat in the viewing rooms with the fans to watch his sixgun sagas, then rising to reminisce and tell how his director got him through his first film and of writing a catchy fight scene which became a highlight of one of his later Westerns.

It was October, and 1973 was running out. Tex gathered his thoughts and set them down on paper for an address at the fall meet of the CMA. No one realized it, but the words would be his last message to a CMA assembly. It was an inspiring speech, and Tex delivered it with customary finesse: "Every breath of every man who has ever breathed has brought me here. I am the sum total of every smile and every tear. I hope I never forget that. For we are, in fact, you know, a part of each other. A part of all which has come and gone. Both the good and the bad. Love and hate belong to no one but are shared by us all. And the wise reap from their visit while the fools wait their return.

But while we live in the present and help shape the future, let us accept the fact that the past is hallowed ground and the shrines of the past almost sacred. It is through such shrines as the Country Music Hall of Fame that the future is reflected. . .for all things which shall be have been. The Hall of Fame stands for something different to each one of us. But to all of us it is an echo of the strength on which this great country of ours was built. The strength of the common man. The strength which will enable this nation to survive. . .Our songs fought our wars. . .found joy in peace. . .glory in birth. . .sadness in death. . .triumph in God. . .and always echoed that which was taking place. . .We seem to better understand each other in song. A song by its very construction leaves no room for shadings or sham. And the country song seems to be the most direct, for the country writer knows no other way. His songs reflect the hopes

and dreams of everyone, as well as everyone's fears and failures. And his songs are a common meeting ground."

The calendar pages flipped rapidly by. They were filled with events of the times, and some of them were tragic. "Everything's sad here in Nashville," Tex stated in a low voice following the 10 November murder of Opry comedian David "Stringbean" Ackeman and his wife. "I introduced him on the last Opry show he did."

The slaying of the gentle banjo-picker and his wife at their little home only a short time after his final performance on the Opry rocked the Nashville music industry. Tex and other "Old Guard" Americans in Nashville, lashing out at the deterioration of values and general turbulence in the United States, led the hue and cry calling for punitive action. One of the last Opry events Tex participated in was helping Governor Winfield Dunn and others plant a tree at Opryland in honor of the late banjoist.

On a happy note, Capitol Records released, on 19 November a three record collection of some of Tex Ritter's leading bestsellers and chart hits. A picture of Tex on his movie horse, White Flash, decorated the cover which displayed a backdrop of the American Flag. The inscription proudly read: "Tex Ritter--An American Legend."

The album was conceived by Joe Allison, the talented young man Tex had discovered three decades before and who was currently record producer for Tex, and myself. As president of Ritter's fan club, I furnished a list of most of the selections included, the scores of career photos used of Tex within the album, and the detailed biography of Ritter. The album became a hit item, making the top ten charts of all three leading national trade publications. The acceptance of the album lifted Tex up, and he had hopes of building a new stage act around the treasury of Ritter music within that package.

Destiny linked Tex with another historic album in those last weeks. President Richard Nixon had made it a point officially to support Country Music. A grateful Country Music industry looked for a way to express its appreciation to Nixon. The idea was conceived to produce an album utilizing a text interspersed with excerpts from Nixon speeches and Country songs which would illustrate the Presidential quotes. Narration of the text was given by Tex, who served as catalyst for the entire project.

When it came time to present the record--titled "Thank You, Mr. President"--Nixon had come under fire and there was some hesitancy about presenting the album. Tex encouraged the presentation, and it was so scheduled. The presentation was a happy highlight for Nixon in what fast became stormy days for him; it came as a friendly gesture in unfriendly times. Once again, Tex Ritter had been concerned for someone



Upper left: Ritter introducing Anne Murray on the Grand Ole Opry (2 December 1972).
Lower right: Ritter and wife, Dorothy, at his announcement for candidacy for the U.S. Senate (January 1970)

else, and in this case the result was a joyful moment for a man he believed in. The event was held on 14 December and received national attention. The positive coverage was good for the President and it was good for the country.

The atmosphere of that meeting with the President carried far over into the next year. During the presentation of the album, Tex leaned over to Nixon and asked him to participate in the opening of the new Grand Ole Opry building at Opryland on 16 March 1974. Nixon heartily agreed, and fulfilled the commitment with memorable gusto. In this way, Tex Ritter's impact on his own world continued to be felt.

The release of "The Americans" by Byron McGregor began the final chapter of the life of Tex Ritter. The song caught on with the public and with Frank Jones, a Canadian executive with Capitol Records, who phoned Tex and asked if he would like to do the song. Tex said yes.

Tex recorded the song on 20 December and it was soon after released. It steadily grew in appeal, and popular response for the Ritter version spread to Canada, where Tex had often toured as a favorite from America. Ritter's recording of "The Americans" opened doors for him that he would never have time to enter.

Tex Ritter delivered "The Americans" on the stage of the Opry on his last performance on 28 December. His rendition was so powerful, so moving, and so patriotic, that the audience leaped to its feet with a thundering ovation. The producers of the Burt Reynolds movie, "W. W. and the Dixie Dance Kings," happened to be backstage and were so impressed that they offered Ritter a supporting role in the film as a veteran Opry performer and composer. A script was being mailed, but for Tex the compliment of the offer itself would be all he would see out of it. The clock of time turned the offer into an unfulfilled dream.

But the record by Tex ultimately surpassed 300,000 copies on the market, and generated such favor that he was booked for additional personal appearances and television spots.

Tex Ritter's last engagement was in Littleton, Colorado, near Denver, on New Year's Eve, 1973. Upon his return, Tex conducted his last known interview, given 2 January 1974 to Nashville *Banner* columnist Red O'Donnell. In the interview, Tex characteristically expounded on such thoughts as making the best of life, in spite of hard times. During the discussion, Tex commented on "his" retirement, and on his own physical health.

O'Donnell, writing television schedules for that week's edition, noticed that "High Noon" was slated for airing. At approximately 3:30 P. M., O'Donnell called Tex to verify his understanding that he had sung the theme in the film. O'Donnell said that Tex answered the phone, "cheerful and cordial per normal," and expressed gratitude when wished a happy birthday. Tex was ten days shy of

his sixty-ninth birthday the day O'Donnell called him. O'Donnell then inquired about Ritter's health.

"I believe a person--regardless of his or her age--is better off if he or she keeps active. Oh, I get a few colds every now and then, and I snort a little, but the snorting is more or less a habit. It just might be my attention-getter," laughed Ritter.

O'Donnell then popped the big question--was Tex ready to retire?

"No retirement plans whatsoever," answered Tex. "We gotta work, you know. Long as the folks want to buy tickets to see me, I'll be up there on that stage, trying to entertain them. I just got back from Denver, where we played New Year's Eve night to a packed house. Actually, it wasn't right in Denver. It was a Country Music Club outside the city by Littleton. But we packed 'em in. I bought a new hat and two Western shirts in Denver. Does that give you any hint about any retirement, or no retirement?"

Tex Ritter hung up the phone and resolutely went about the task of studying a particular problem. A member of his band, Lamar "Jack" Watkins, 35, a musician from Springfield, Tennessee, had been placed in the county jail in Nashville the day before. It made no difference to Tex what Watkins was charged with. The man needed a friend, and Tex Ritter was that friend. Tex, in company with his eldest son, Vanderbilt law student Tom Ritter, arrived at the jail at approximately 5:30 and made bail for Watkins. While Watkins was being processed for release, Tex Ritter visited with people in a waiting room. Johnny Brewer, jail deputy, said that Tex "was kidding around and cutting up and having a good time. He told us it was the first time he had been to the jail and he was amazed at how it was run."

As the waiting period increased, Tex took a chair and sat down in the office of Sheriff Fate Thomas. At approximately 6:19, Tex went limp, grabbed his chest, and grew pale. As he slumped over, an oxygen mask was placed on his face. Ritter was rushed to the hospital, where a medical team tried desperately but failed to revive him.

Fittingly, the man Tex had come to free, was processed for release as Tex suffered the fatal attack. His last mission was successful, in spite of death. And the event marked by sorrow only added to the legend that typified the real Tex Ritter.

Representative Richard Fulton of Tennessee remarked of his passing: "Tex was a big man with lots of love--love for his beautiful wife, love for his children, love for his friends, love for all of life, love for his country, love for his God. Some people take more than they give. Tex gave more than he took. I'm thankful for the privilege of knowing him and learning

from him."

The body of Tex Ritter was flown to his hometown of Nederland, Texas for a final service in the First United Methodist Church. The church, where as a young man he had sung hymns, was filled with 1,000 mourners, known and unknown to the family. As the funeral procession traveled the three miles to the Oak Bluff Memorial Park in nearby Port Neches, throngs of admirers lined the streets in silent respect. Some 1,200 friends and fans gathered at the cemetery to pay their last honors to the beloved showman.

The most enduring portrait of the popular cowboy star and Country Music pioneer is found in the hearts and minds of his millions of admirers. They buy the records, watch the films, purchase the books

and magazines which recall Tex, and remember the deep-throated Texan with the loving heart. Most of all, they remember their hero, perhaps with sadness because he is gone, but also with admiration and respect for all he stood for, from the beginning through the endtime.

Tex Ritter's last decade was full of productivity and merit. Up to the last, Tex Ritter remained active and interested in life and people, and his final act, rendered in behalf of someone in trouble, assures him a permanent place of endearment, adding a new aura of benevolence to the proud memory of a genuine humanitarian and hero in the twilight years.



Tex Ritter, as the Reverend Bolten in the Gospel Music drama, "Girl From Tobacco Row," gives guidance to his screen son, Tim Ormond, at left, and a young man in trouble, Earl "Snake" Richards (1967)

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF FIDDLELING IN NORTH AMERICA (Part 6)

Compiled and Annotated by Michael Mendelson

[For discussion of the format of this bibliography, see introduction to Part I in JEMFQ #38 (Summer 1975).]

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- _____. +**"Slim Martin - The Man Who Brought in the Georgia Mail: In Memoriam" BU 10, no. 6 (Dec. 1975), 5.
- _____. +**"Fiddling Doc Roberts" DB 10, no. 1 (1 Mar. 1976), 43-45. *Short biography of early Kentucky fiddler.*
- TRIBE, IVAN M. AND JOHN W. MDRRIS. +**"J. E. and Wade Mainer" BU 10, no. 5 (Nov. 1975), 12-21.
- WALKER, WILLIAM L. +**"Strings n' Things: A Few Words About Fiddle Care" BU 9, no. 5 (Nov. 1974), 17.
- WIGGINS, GENE. +**"Ed Kincaid, 'Crony' of Fiddlin' John Carson" DB 9, no. 2 (1 June 1975), 50-56. *Rhythm guitarist for Fiddlin' John.*
- _____. +**"Robert Burns: Fiddler and Poet" DB 10, no. 3 (1 Sept. 1976), 32-37. *Fiddle tunes in Burns' works.*
- WILLIAMS, VIVIAN, RON WILLIAMS AND RDN EMMONS. +**"Weiser, Idaho 1970" BU 5, no. 7 (Jan. 1971), 9. *Short account of National Old Time Fiddlers Contest.*
- WILSDN, JOE. +**"A Hornpipe: Durang's Dance and Hoffmaster's Tune" National Folk Festival, Wolf Trap, Vienna, Virginia, July 16-18, 1976 (program booklet), 12-13. *History of the tune.*
- WOLFE, CHARLES K. +**"Dick Burnett - A Rediscovered Old Time Fiddler" DB, no. 21 (1 June 1973), 35-37. *Short biography of Kentucky fiddler who recorded in the 1920s.*
- _____. +**"That Old Time Music" DB, no. 22 (1 Sept. 1973), 6-9. *Short general history of old time music and the recording industry. Reprinted from Collage (May 1973), the Student Creative Publication of Middle Tennessee State University.*
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- _____. +**"Old-Time Fiddling Contests at Knoxville's Market Hall" DB, no. 27 (1 Dec. 1974), 24-27. *Contemporary accounts of fiddling in the late 1920s to early 1930s.*
- _____. +**"The 1926 Tennessee State Championship Contest" DB 9, no. 1 (1 Mar. 1975), 6-10. *Largely taken from contemporary accounts.*
- _____. +**"Ernie Hodges From Coal Creek to Bach" DB 9, no. 2 (1 June 1975), 22-41. *Interview, photos of early North Carolina fiddler.*
- _____. +**"From the Fiddling Archives, No. 11" DB 10, no. 1 (1 Mar. 1976), 27-33. *"The Delmore Brothers and Old-Time Fiddling Contests" and "Governor Taylor's Letter to Old Time Fiddlers, Tennessee 1899."*
- _____. +**"A Country Dance in Tennessee in 1886" DB 10, no. 2 (1 June 1976), B-12. *Commentary on an 1886 account taken from The Sunny Side of the Cumberland by Will Allen Dromgoole, 1886.*
- _____. +**"Dover the Waves": A Brief History" DB 10, no. 3 (1 Sept. 1976), 25-26. *Popular country waltz.*
- _____. +**"The TVOTFA: Bringing it Back Home" DB 10, no. 3 (1 Sept. 1976), 42-49. *History and function of the Tennessee Valley Old Time Fiddlers' Association.*
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LISTING BY PERIODICAL

BLUEGRASS UNLIMITED

3, no. 6 (Dec. 1968)	4-7	Spielman, Earl V. "Bluegrass Fiddle."
	B-11	Foster, Alice "Kenny Baker."
3, no. B (Feb. 1969)	6-B	Martin, Mac "Bill Monroe and the Fiddle."
3, no. 9 (Mar. 1969)	6-B	Spielman, Earl V. "Bluegrass Fiddle, Part 2."
4, no. 5 (Nov. 1969)	11-12	Foster, Alice "Sam Bush."
4, no. 6 (Dec. 1969)	10	Carlson, Norman "Vernon Derrick."
	11	Bassin, Bill "Scott Stoneman."
4, no. 11 (May 1970)	2-4	Stuart, Jerry "North Carolina Fiddlers Conventions."
5, no. 3 (Sept. 1970)	11-12	Chrisco, Mrs. J. D. "Dne-Armed Fiddle Player Plays for Carl Story."
5, no. 7 (Jan. 1971)	9	Williams, Vivian, Ron Williams and Ron Emmons "Weiser, Idaho 1970."
6, no. 3 (Sept. 1971)	19-20	Foot, Tom "The National Fiddler's Championship at Weiser, Idaho."
6, no. B (Feb. 1972)	12-15	Greene, Clarence H. "Pee Wee Davis: His Own Story."
6, no. 10 (Apr. 1972)	17-20	Burke, John "Country Fiddling."
B, no. 5 (Nov. 1973)	7-11	Tribe, Ivan "A Quarter Century of Bluegrass Fiddling: Clarence 'Tater' Tate."
B, no. 7 (Jan. 1974)	21-23	Stegall, Jim "Buck Ryan."
B, no. 9 (Mar. 1974)	25-27	Green, Douglas B. "Wilma Lee and Stoney Cooper."
9, no. 2 (Aug. 1974)	15-17	Johnson, W. D. "For Love, Not Money."
9, no. 5 (Nov. 1974)	17	Walker, William L. "Strings n' Things: A Few Words About Fiddle Care."
9, no. 7 (Jan. 1975)	B-14	Tribe, Ivan M. "Carl Story: Bluegrass Pioneer."
	15	Johnson, Mike "Winslow King, Fiddle Man."

9, no. 8 (Feb. 1975)	8-13	Tribe, Ivan M. "Bailes Brothers."
10, no. 5 (Nov. 1975)	12-21	Tribe, Ivan M. and John W. Morris "J. E. and Wade Mainer."
10, no. 6 (Dec. 1975)	5	Tribe, Ivan M. "Slim Martin--The Man Who Brought in the Georgia Mail: In Memoriam."
	20-25	Godbey, Frank & Marty "Paul Mullins: Musician, Disc Jockey & Bluegrass Influence."
10, no. 10 (Apr. 1976)	34-40	Smith, Bonnie "Mark O'Connor: Winning It All By 14."
11, no. 4 (Oct. 1976)	28-29	Fails, Shirley H. "Arlin Hughes: His Message is Music."
11, no. 6 (Dec. 1976)	13-17	Sayers, Bob "Leslie Keith: Black Mountain Blues."

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4 (6 Apr. 1968)	6-12	Travis, Jim "American Folk Fiddling: It's Gaelic Derivation."
5 (22 July 1968)	8-13	Kirksey, Kelly "The Future of Old Time Fiddling."
7 (2 Dec. 1968)	6-8	Hulan, Richard H. "The First Tennessee State Champion Fiddler."

DEVIL'S BOX

8 (15 Mar. 1969)	10-12	Travis, Jim "The Tennessee Bow."
	15-18	Hulan, Richard "The First Annual Country Fiddlers' Contest."
9 (4 July 1969)	3-4	Nevins, Richard "Lowe Stokes."
	4-5	"The 'Fiddlin' Champion Receives His Crown."
	6-11	Kirksey, Kelley "Old Time Fiddling: How To Understand and Appreciate It, Learning to Listen."
	14	Hulan, Richard "Fiddling Among the Slaves in Louisiana."
10 (4 Sept. 1969)	11-14	Travis, Jim "Folk Performance Versus Concert Performance."
11 (28 Jan. 1970)	2-5	"Third Annual Convention Highlights and Notes."
	7-11	Cohen, John "Fiddlin' Eck Robertson."
	11-13	Travis, Jim "The Celtic Crwth or Tiompan as the Original Source of Old-Time Fiddling Technique."
12 (25 May 1970)	2-6	Roberson, Don "Uncle Sam Stephens-Champion Fiddler."
	8-9	Harrison, Bill "TVOTFA Vignette No. 1: Bob Douglas, 1969-1970, Tennessee Valley Fiddle King."
	16-18	Travis, Jim "Hill Country Tunes: Instrumental Folk Music of Southwestern Pennsylvania."
13 (5 Sept. 1970)	5	Harrison, Bill "TVOTFA Vignette No. 2: Frazier Moss: 1968-1969, Tennessee Valley Fiddle King."
	6-8	Blaustein, Richard "Preservation of Old Time Fiddling as A Living Force."
	8-10	Harrison, Bill "More About Henry Ford: His Fiddle Collection."
14 (3 Apr. 1971)	2-4	"Fourth Annual Convention Notes and Winners."
	8-9	Jabbour, Alan "Old Dad: Variations in A Tune Title."
	9-11	Davis, Stephen F. "The Collector and His Role in Furthering Fiddling and Old Time Country Music."
	12-13	Nobley, Robert "The Skilletlickers Bluebird Discography."
	13-15	"How To Properly Tape Record 78 RPM Records."
15 (20 Aug. 1971)	5-6	Oavis, Stephen F. and Robert F. Nobley "Norman S. Edmonds - Mountain Fiddler."
		Harrison, Bill "The Atlanta Fiddlers' Convention Revisited."
16 (15 Feb. 1972)	2-3	"Fifth Annual Convention and Contest Notes."
	4-9	Harrison, Bill "Fiddling in Limestone County, 1925 Through 1940."
	11-15	Blaustein, Richard "More On Slave Fiddling."
17 (1 June 1972)	2-3	Creadick, R. Nowell "Old Time Music in the College Curriculum."
	4-6	Lewis, David L. "The Square Dancing Master."
	14-19	Cohen, John "Fiddlin' Eck Robertson."
	20	Douglas, Bob "Bob Douglas and the Allen Brothers - The Story of 1928."
	21-24	Blaustein, Richard "Will Success Spoil Old Time Fiddling and Bluegrass?"
18 (1 Sept. 1972)	14-18	Nobley, Robert E. "The Great Stripling Brothers."
19 (1 Dec. 1972)	3-4	Harrison, Bill "The Uncle Sam Stephens - Uncle Jimmy Thompson Memorial Project."
	6-9	Hicks, Bill "'Overgrowth' and 'Superstyle': Some Further Comments."
	22-27	Kirksey, Kelley "Where Did Old Time Fiddlin' Come From?: Highlights of the Fascinating History of Old-Time Fiddling."
	28-31	Holmes, Wane "Reflections on 'Superstyle' and 'Overgrowth'."
	32-33	Blaustein, Richard "Some Thoughts Concerning the Old Time Fiddlers' Association Movement."
	36-39	Burcham, Terry "Sixth Annual Tennessee Valley Old Time Fiddlers' Association Convention."
20 (1 Mar. 1973)	2-4	Dunnivant, Bob "Country Music Today: The Hudson Family."
	9-12	Hatcher, Mrs. J. B. "Fiddling Dud Vance."
	13-14	"Bristol Tennessee Fiddle Contest, 1928."
	15-18	Nevins, Richard "Real Country Music: The Treasure in Joe Sussard's Basement."
	19-20	Nobley, Robert E. "What Is Old Time Music."
21 (1 June 1973)	2-3	Creadick, Nowell "What Is Old Time Music."
	5-6	Johnston, Neil "Folk Fiddling, Part 1: Which Direction - Preservation or Development."
	7-8	Roberson, Don "Some Reflections on Uncle Sam Stephens, Uncle Jimmy Thompson and the Fiddler's Memorial Project."

		13-19	Davis, Stephen F. and Keith Titterington "'Sleepy' Johnson: Western Swing Pioneer."
		28-31	Garelick, Surney "Presenting the California State Old-Time Fiddlers Association."
		35-37	Wolfe, Charles K. "Dick Burnett - A Rediscovered Old Time Fiddler."
22	(1 Sept. 1973)	6-9	Wolfe, Charles K. "That Old Time Music."
		11-12	Harrison, Bill "J. T. Perkins."
		18-22	Smith, Hobart "I Grew Up Into It."
		27-32	Wolfe, Charles "The Great 1927 Nashville Fiddler's Convention."
		31-33	Harrison, Bill "Grand Masters Fiddlers Contest - 1973."
23	(1 Dec. 1973)	4-6	Davis, Stephen F. "Seventh Annual Tennessee Valley Old Time Fiddlers' Association Convention."
		7-9	Wolfe, Charles "The Fiddling Contests at LaFollette."
		10-12	Williams, Vivian T. "The Current Status of Fiddling Contests."
		13-16	Davis, Stephen F. "Fiddler's Contests and Conventions: Reflections and Suggestions."
		17-19	Johnston, Neil "Folk Fiddling, Part 2: Preservation and Development in the Next Decade."
		35	"Country Fiddling in Australia."
		35-36	"From Classical Violinist to Country Fiddler: The Story of New Zealand's Colleen Trenwith."
		37-38	"Sascom Lamar Lunsford Dies."
		42-43	Harrison, Bill "Frazier Moss - Tennessee Fiddler."
24	(1 Mar. 1974)	6-8	Durfee, Charles and Alan Jabbour "'Old Sledge,' 'Mississippi Sawyer,' and Related Matters."
		14-18	Wolfe, Charles "Bill Helms on the Old-Time Fiddling Conventions."
		19-26	Garelick, David "An Interview with Benny Thomasson."
		27-28	Lynn, Jesse L., Jr. "The Country Dance."
		38-39	"James Bryan: 1973 Tennessee Valley Fiddle King."
		45-47	Pinson, Bob "Bob Wills - A Few Reminiscences."
25	(1 June 1974)	7-14	Harris, Perry and Howard Roberts "Howard 'Big Howdy' Forrester."
		28-33	Wolfe, Charles "The Fiddling Contests at LaFollette, Part 2."
		50-52	Harris, Perry F. "The Annual Grand Masters Fiddling Contest."
26	(1 Sept. 1974)	19-27	Davis, Stephen F. "Uncle Bert Lane."
		40-42	Hicks, Bill "The Hollow Rock String Band."
		48-53	Saker, M. Bryan "Goodbye Ron."
		54-59	Wolfe, Charles "LaFollette, Bud Silvey, and Huntsville, 1928."
		62-63	Hendricks, Kaw "Fourth Annual Renfro Valley Fiddlers Convention and Old Timers Reunion."
27	(1 Dec. 1974)	3-7	Surcham, Terry "The 8th Annual TVOTFA Convention."
		8-23	Tribe, Ivan M. "Curly Fox: Old Time and Novelty Fiddler Extraordinary."
		24-27	Wolfe, Charles "Old-Time Fiddling Contests at Knoxville's Market Hall."
		28-32	Surcham, Terry "Monte Sano Crowder: Tennessee Valley Fiddler."
		36	Lynn, Jesse L. "Alabama Fiddling: Roy Crawford Style."
		39-42	Hatcher, Mrs. J. 8. "The Vance Family: A Pictorial Account."
9, no. 1	(1 Mar. 1975)*	6-10	Wolfe, Charles "The 1926 Tennessee State Championship Contest."
		31-35	Garelick, Surney "An Old-Time Fiddle Contest."
9, no. 2	(1 June 1975)	7-11	Lynn, Jesse L. "Current Trends in Southern Traditional Fiddling."
		22-41	Wolfe, Charles "Ernie Hodges: From Coal Creek to Bach."
		50-56	Wiggins, Gene "Ed Kincaid, 'Crony' of Fiddlin' John Carson."
9, no. 3	(1 Sept. 1975)	10-15	Garelick, Surney "The Fiddler from Hangtown: Ray Park and Friends Entertain at the Freight and Salvage."
		30-55	Wolfe, Charles and Bill Harrison "Uncle Jimmy Thompson: His Life and Times, 1848-1931."
9, no. 4	(1 Dec. 1975)	8-13	Oglethorpe, Oliver "The 9th Annual TVOTFA Convention."
		23-40	Hager, Julia and Jim Olin "An Interview with Tip McKinney."
		44-45	Harrison, Bill "Bill Mitchell - The Fiddling Sheriff."
10, no. 1	(1 Mar. 1976)	11-18	Kaiman, Audrey A. "The Southern Fiddling Convention--A Study."
		19-22	Spencer, Thomas E. and Stephen F. Davis "On Judging Fiddle Contests, or, Beauty Is In the Eye of the Beholder."
		27-33	Wolfe, Charles "From the Fiddling Archives, No. 11."
		43-45	Tribe, Ivan "Fiddling Doc Roberts."
10, no. 2	(1 June 1976)	8-12	Wolfe, Charles "A Country Dance in Tennessee in 1886."
		21-24	"The National Collegiate Fiddlers Festival."
10, no. 3	(1 Sept. 1976)	14-20	Hager, Julia "Old Time Fiddling--An Interview with R. P. Christeson."
		21-24	Harrison, Richard "Fiddling Around at College."
		25-26	Wolfe, Charles "Over the Waves: A Brief History."
		32-37	Wiggins, Gene "Robert Burns: Fiddler and Poet."
		42-49	Wolfe, Charles "The TVOTFA: Bringing it Back Home."
10, no. 4	(1 Dec. 1976)	13-14	"Country Fiddling--Wally Bryson Style."
		40-42	Staustein, Richard "A Cowboy Fiddling Contest in the Dakotas--1882."
		46-48	Carlson, Norman "Letters to the Editor."

*Note: Numbering changed to volume/number with this issue.

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- FERREL, FRANK H. Paddy Cronin, "The Rakish Paddy." Fiddler Records FRLP-002. *Irish fiddler now living in the United States.*
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Vol. 1, No. 1 (July 1966)--Vol. 2, No. 6 (Dec. 1976)

TENNESSEE VALLEY OLD TIME FIDDLERS' ASSOCIATION NEWSLETTER (TVOTFAN/DB)

1 (29 Aug. 1967)--S (22 July 1968)

DEVIL'S BOX (DB)

7 (2 Dec. 1968)--Vol. 10, No. 4 (1 Dec. 1976)

JIM AND JESSE: A REVIEW ESSAY ON FAN HISTORIOGRAPHY

By Scott Hambly

JIM AND JESSE: APPALACHIA TO THE GRAND OLE OPRY, by Nelson Sears (Lancaster, Penn.: Nelson Sears, James McReynolds, and Jesse McReynolds, 1976), 164 pp., photos, appendices (songs written by Jesse McReynolds, song texts, discography). Available from Mr. Nelson Sears, 1761 Hemlock Road, Lancaster, Pa. 17603.

Nelson Sears' *Jim and Jesse: Appalachia to the Grand Ole Opry* is not just a rags to (modest) riches story, as the title might imply. It marks the first book-length biographical treatment of major bluegrass performers. As Doug Green has pointed out in his brief review of this book, biographies of country music performers (such as the Carter Family, Bob Wills, Jimmie Rodgers, Hank Williams) are not innovations and are now increasing in number.¹ However, it is unlikely that such a sensitive insight into performers' lives has been gained since Mrs. Jimmie Rodgers wrote about her husband's life.² Most of the candor can be attributed directly to Jim and Jesse themselves; their openness and willingness to share their music and now their personal as well as professional lives; their ups and downs, good times and bad are included in many instances with ample details.

The Table of Contents reads like a novel. As such it titillates one's imagination of the narrative it purports to summarize; one must read the book to make fuller sense of the chapter titles. Chapter 1, The Roots; 2, Boyhood Memories; 3, Getting Started; 4, The McCoy Girls and a Trip to Charleston, W. Va.; 5, Radio, Reflections and Jesse Writes a Letter; 6, The Snows of Iowa and the Golden Wheatfields of Kansas; 7, Television, Recordings, Radio and Love; 8, Jesse Gets Married, Jesse Goes to War and Jim Delivers the Pears; 9, Jesse Pawns His Mandolin, WDVA, WBBB, WNOX, WWVA and Joe (Meadows) Tells Panther Stories; 10, Live Oak, Florida, and the Fans Who Loved Them; 11, Romance, Religion and Oral History; 12, The Grand Ole Opry and J and J Buy a Farm; 13, Backstage at the Opry, Alabama Buck Dancing and the New England Bluegrass; and 14, Jim and Jesse with Honor comprise the Table of Contents.

A review of *Jim and Jesse* is an apt occasion to survey the relationships between fans and their favorite musical celebrities. The titles may be intended to be oblique, for this book is unquestionably written by an ardent devotee--a super fan--of Jim and Jesse. The book appears to be intended primarily for the delectation of other fans as well as a tribute to Jim and Jesse. The Jim and Jesse fans will already know parts of the McReynolds Brothers biography through personal experiences, records, television and radio, and Mrs. Jean Osborn's Jim and Jesse Fan Club publications. Thus Sears can safely assume the readers' tacit knowledge on many of the arcane facts and biographical sequences implied by the chapter titles.

Indeed, I learned almost as much about Sears himself as I did about Jim and Jesse. Sears is obviously a devout Christian. He posits his own religious faith and that of Jim and Jesse as the foundation for persevering (p. 131). Sears interweaves through the biographical fabric examples of the fundamental religious experiences and inclinations of Jim and Jesse and their families (pp. 114-15). Insights into matters of religious faith have seldom been described in such depth in other country music biographies.

Sears is not content to be biographer alone; he occasionally becomes autobiographer and as such contributes several personal digressions. He interposes his own ancestors' legends as incidents of "oral history" similar to transmissional processes experienced by Jim and Jesse (pp. 121-22), and commits other self-indulgences in print (pp. 133, 136, 139, 149-150) which seem inappropriate.³ On the other hand, one of the most common features of fan-star relationships is self-gratification and self-enhancement by means of associating with selected entertainers perceived to be eminent. Examined in this way Sears' behavior can even be expected as he chronicles his own associations with Jim and Jesse on road trips to Alabama, Virginia, and Cambridge, Massachusetts, spending several days with Jim and Jesse at their homes in Gallatin, Tennessee, as well as his accompanying Jesse on a nostalgic visit in March 1975 to the McReynolds home-place a quarter mile up the stream from Carfax, Virginia.

It is both easy to praise and easy to deprecate ingenuous fan publications. (What I suspect is) Sears' first publication proves to be no exception. The criticism to follow is intended primarily to

the 1937 ILGWU musical, *Pins and Needles*; Ralph Chaplin's "Solidarity Forever"; and the still-current "We Shall Overcome," among them. These last two titles, and in fact, fully two-thirds of the songs included, concern working men as much as they do working women, and raise the question what was the compiler's standard for inclusion? They are all, to be sure, worthy of reprinting, but certainly one could find more than thirteen songs that reflected the doubly confining role of working woman.

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Recognition to western swing and western music has been slow in coming, when compared to the rural southeast hillbilly traditions. The reasons for this are not hard to discern: the prime movers in the urban folk music revival were strongly biased in favor of the Anglo-Irish-American musical heritage that passed from old British ballads and fiddle tunes through minstrelsy and a touch of vaudeville/Tin Pan Alley to old time stringband music and bluegrass. The southwest tradition was less tangibly a part of the familiar folk traditions, with its heavy dependence on other tributaries such as jazz, Cajun, Mexican, swing, and central European-American (e.g., the German, Czech, Bohemian, the Polish instrumental music of Texas, Oklahoma, and the midwest). In the past few years there has been a distinct move to rectify this imbalance. The bulk of the attention has, of course, been paid to Bob Wills--not to suggest that he isn't deserving of every bit of it. Election in 1968 to the Country Music Hall of Fame betokened recognition within the industry; last year, Wills was the subject of an outstanding biographical study (one of the best book length studies of a country musician) by Charles R. Townsend, *San Antonio Rose* (University of Illinois Press). Numerous LP issues and reissues, authorized and bootlegged, indicate a broad interest in Wills' music surfacing.

Wills can justly be crowned the king or father of western swing, but there were several other outstanding musical aggregations that also deserve our attention. These three anthological volumes display representative numbers by some 20 musical organizations recorded in the first decade or so of western swing's history as a recognizable musical form. Wills himself recognized that the blending of horns and strings was a major original musical contribution--in fact it was just this combination that convinced many musical critics that Wills' music would not work. In listening to these collections it becomes apparent that a common trait of much of western swing music was a reliance on a heavy two-four beat that sets it apart from other attempts to blend country music with jazz styles--such as were attempted in the southeast.

These anthologies provide examples of some of the genres upon which western swing drew for inspiration. "Up Jumped the Devil" and "Chicken Reel Stomp" are fiddle tunes common throughout the south; "Draggin' the Bow" and "Beaumont Rag" are fiddle tunes from the southwest. From blues musicians were borrowed "What's the Matter with the Mill?", a Memphis Minnie hit of 1930; Kokomo Arnold's "Milk Cow Blues," and "Joe Turner Blues." More in the jazz idiom were W. C. Handy's "Hesitation Blues" and Joe Sullivan's "Cin Mill Blues." "Feather Your Nest" was taken from a 1919 Broadway musical, "Listen

Lester," and "My Little Girl" is a parody of the 1915 hit of the same title. Vintage ragtime is represented by George Botsford's 1910 composition, "Black and White Rag." "Everybody's Truckin'," with its frequent replacement of the euphemistic title by the intended phrase, is one of the rare issues that betrays the complete breakdown of the usual censorial procedures that operated for many decades to keep releases by major companies scrupulously free of the obscene, bawdy, or even suggestive.

The three LPs all make excellent listening (as does also Vol. 1 of the Old Timey series, LP-105, issued a number of years ago). The Old Timey volumes have more complete discographic data (date and place of recording, master and release numbers), which the String LP lacks; but the latter has otherwise more elaborate notes, including a summary of recent material published on the history and background of western swing.

BILL BOYD'S COWBOY RAMBLERS (RCA Bluebird AXM2-5503). A 2-LP set of 32 reissues, originally recorded 1934-1950. Titles: *I'm Gonna Hop Off the Train, The Rambler's Rag, The Strawberry Roan, The Windswept Desert, Going Back to my Texas Home, Mama Don't Like no Music, Under the Double Eagle, Barn Dance Rag, I Can't Tame Wild Women, Wah Hoo, River Blues, Goofus, Saturday Night Rag, Fan It, 'Way Out There, Draggin' It Around, You Shall be Free Monah, Guess Who's in Town, Beaumont Rag, What's the Use, New Steel Guitar Rag, Boyd's Tin Roof Blues, I've Got Those Oklahoma Blues, New Spanish Two Step, Spanish Fandango, Singing & Swinging for Me, La Golondrina, I've Got the Blues for Mammy, Mill Blues, New Ft. Worth Rag, Lone Star Rag, Domino Rag* (previously unissued). Liner notes by Bob Pinson.

With the possible exception of some of the recent Bob Wills reissues, this album is the best re-issue package devoted to a single figure/band in western swing. The selections, arranged chronologically, span the career of one of the three or four most influential, popular, and heavily-recorded (227 numbers issued) of the western swing bands. This set is heavy on instrumentals, for which the Cowboy Ramblers were best known; "Under the Double Eagle," one of their most popular ones, remained in the RCA catalog for over two decades. Like most western swing bands, Boyd's borrowed heavily from blues (Frankie Jaxon's "Fan It"), jazz (Joe Sullivan's "[Gin] Mill Blues"), south of the border ("La Golondrina"), and from Bob Wills, covering his "Spanish Two-Step," "Steel Guitar Rag," and "Spanish Fandango." Fiddle instrumentals were rendered with polish and verve by Art Davis, who played with Boyd throughout his recording career; classically trained Cecil Brower; Jesse Ashlock, and others. Pinson's excellent notes provide biographical background as well as a useful general introduction to western swing music; as with other Bluebird reissue sets, complete discographic data are given.

SPADE COOLEY (Club of Spade 00101; available from Box 1771, Studio City, CA 91604). 12 selections from electrical transcriptions. Titles: *Swingin' the Devil's Dream, Wabash Cannon Ball* (w/ vocal), *Skater's Waltz, Perdido, Pale Moon* (voc), *Campbells Are Coming, You'll Always Be Darlin' to Me, My Heart Cries for You* (voc), *Hollywood Hoedown, A Heart Full of Love* (voc), *Texas Playboy Rag, Shame Shame On You* (voc).

Very little has been written about the rise and fall of Spade Cooley, although his nickname, "King of Western Swing," applied in 1946, may have been the first use of the term "western swing" to denote a musical idiom that previously had been designated by such expressions as "hot string band" and "novelty hot dance." The compilers of this album have put together a brief biographical sketch of Cooley that at last makes available some details of his career. Born Donnell Clyde Cooley in 1910 in Grande, Oklahoma, Spade played his violin at a square dance when he was only eight years old. He studied violin and cello at the Chemawa Indian School in Oregon (he was 1/4 Cherokee) and seemed for a while to be headed for a career as a classical violinist until, as he reportedly explained, he discovered that he couldn't wear cowboy boots while playing Brahms and Beethoven. In the 1930s, along with numerous other Oklahoma dust bowl refugees, Cooley's family moved to Modesto, in the great central valley of California. Here he began playing with small western bands to earn whatever he could. A few years later he moved southward to Los Angeles, where he played whatever musical dates he could, supplementing his income with motion picture work, either as an extra, a stuntman, or a double. In 1941 Spade organized his own band and opened an 18-month engagement at the now-defunct Venice Pier Ballroom. Between 1943 and 1946 he played to overflow crowds at the old Riverside Rancho Ballroom, following which he leased the larger Santa Monica Ballroom, which later became the first televised ballroom program. Between 1946 and 1961 he enjoyed a wave of popularity, with a highly successful televised show, motion picture background music, and personal appearances at military bases and charity events to his credit. Then, his career came suddenly to an end when he was convicted of, and imprisoned for, the murder of his wife. In 1969 he was released on parole; the evening of his release he appeared at a charity benefit, then died of a heart attack later that night.

Cooley's music was more big band music than that of any of the other groups discussed in the preceding reviews: the vocals were more "pop," the fiddles more violin, the repertoire and arrangements more swing than western. Except for a steady reliance on old time fiddle tunes and on western swing favorites recorded by Wills and other bands, it would perhaps be easier to categorize Cooley's music

as big band swing than as western swing--at least that is the impression one gets from these albums of radio transcriptions (previous releases were reviewed in JEMFQ #40, p. 211).

The Farr Brothers: SOUTH IN MY SOUL (Cattle Records, LP 1; Muehlenstrasse 12, D-4006 Erkrath 1, W. Germany). Reissue of 21 selections from Orthacoustic and Standard Transcriptions recorded between 1934 and 1940. Titles: *Cow Across the Road, Blues in E, Jack of Diamonds, Gambler's Blues* (w/voc), *South in My Soul, Boggy Road to Texas, Over the Santa Fe Trail* (voc), *Long Long Ago, A Rag, Fire Alarm Blues, Tom and Jerry, Kerry Waltz, Spanish Cavalier* (voc), *Indian Scout, Riddle Rhythm, Churnin' Butter, The Outlaw, Carlen Stomp, Darkness on the Delta, Limehouse Blues*. Produced by Reimar Binge.

Hugh and Karl Farr were for many years the fiddler and guitarist for the Sons of the Pioneers, and in that role they invariably provided that singing group with competent and effective instrumental backup. Occasionally--on commercial discs--they were given free rein to demonstrate their instrumental skills to better advantage. But on the electrical transcription recordings, originally intended for radio use only, they were really given ample opportunity to shine. Hugh Farr was a brilliant fiddler, steeped in the Texas fiddle tradition but heavily influenced by jazz fiddle of the 1920s and 1930s. Tunes by the Farr Brothers are often difficult to identify aurally; one sometimes has the feeling of listening to the last three in a succession of variations that move progressively further from the basic melody; "Limehouse Blues," on this LP, is a good example of this characteristic of theirs. Karl Farr's guitar work provided adequate accompaniment to Hugh's fiddle, but he tended to rely heavily on a handful of idiosyncratic devices that lend a feeling of repetition to many of his pieces.

The recordings on this LP are drawn from three sources. The first four titles listed above are from Standard Radio Transcriptions of 1934/35, with Hugh Farr, violin/vocal; Leonard Syle (Roy Rogers), guitar/vocal; Bob Nolan, bass/vocal; and Tim Spencer, vocal. The next 9 titles are from Orthacoustic Transcriptions of 1940, with Hugh Farr, violin; Karl Farr, guitar; Pat Brady, bass; Lloyd Perryman, guitar/vocal; and Bob Nolan and Tim Spencer, vocals. The last 8 titles are from Standard Transcriptions of 1934/35 by the Farr Brothers as the Cornhuskers.

This German production (made possible by the cooperation of Ken Griffis) is the first LP devoted to the Farr Brothers (apart from their work as part of the Sons of the Pioneers); a JEMF release should be available later this year.

-- Norm Cohen

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WORKS IN PROGRESS

WILLIAM C. ELLIS is now working on a dissertation on the history and significance of the sentimental "mother song" in American country music of 1923-45. The work will be submitted in English (Folklore) at the Ohio State University.

The first part of the study will synthesize and analyze the texts of these songs as popular literature. It will (1) characterize the philosophies and narrative strategies embodied in sentimental songs in general and mother-songs in particular, and (2) define the specific formulae that govern the mother-songs written or performed during the given period. While the focus will be on these songs' literary meaning--i. e., the ideas explicitly intended in the texts--reference will be made, when necessary, to their sociological context and psychological implications.

The second part will consist of a catalog of mother-songs written or performed in the country tradition between 1923-45. Texts will be classified by narrative unit, according to the techniques now being developed by Dr. D. K. Wilgus, and indexed by title, first line, author (when known), and performer. Although this catalog at present is based on five months' work with the folios, songsters, and recordings at the JEMF, it is still far from complete, and any information about out-of-the-way texts and recordings would be welcomed. In return, the author would be glad to share the data he has compiled with anyone working on related projects or discographies. Please send questions, information, or advice to William C. Ellis, English Department, Denney Hall, Ohio State University, Columbus, OH. 43210.

ERRATUM

The cover of the previous issue of JEMFQ (#45) was erroneously dated Summer 1977. The dateline should have read Spring 1977.

the 1937 ILGWU musical, *Pins and Needles*; Ralph Chaplin's "Solidarity Forever"; and the still-current "We Shall Overcome," among them. These last two titles, and in fact, fully two-thirds of the songs included, concern working men as much as they do working women, and raise the question what was the compiler's standard for inclusion? They are all, to be sure, worthy of reprinting, but certainly one could find more than thirteen songs that reflected the doubly confining role of working woman.

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Recognition to western swing and western music has been slow in coming, when compared to the rural southeast hillbilly traditions. The reasons for this are not hard to discern: the prime movers in the urban folk music revival were strongly biased in favor of the Anglo-Irish-American musical heritage that passed from old British ballads and fiddle tunes through minstrelsy and a touch of vaudeville/Tin Pan Alley to old time stringband music and bluegrass. The southwest tradition was less tangibly a part of the familiar folk traditions, with its heavy dependence on other tributaries such as jazz, Cajun, Mexican, swing, and central European-American (e.g., the German, Czech, Bohemian, the Polish instrumental music of Texas, Oklahoma, and the midwest). In the past few years there has been a distinct move to rectify this imbalance. The bulk of the attention has, of course, been paid to Bob Wills--not to suggest that he isn't deserving of every bit of it. Election in 1968 to the Country Music Hall of Fame betokened recognition within the industry; last year, Wills was the subject of an outstanding biographical study (one of the best book length studies of a country musician) by Charles R. Townsend, *San Antonio Rose* (University of Illinois Press). Numerous LP issues and reissues, authorized and bootlegged, indicate a broad interest in Wills' music surfacing.

Wills can justly be crowned the king or father of western swing, but there were several other outstanding musical aggregations that also deserve our attention. These three anthological volumes display representative numbers by some 20 musical organizations recorded in the first decade or so of western swing's history as a recognizable musical form. Wills himself recognized that the blending of horns and strings was a major original musical contribution--in fact it was just this combination that convinced many musical critics that Wills' music would not work. In listening to these collections it becomes apparent that a common trait of much of western swing music was a reliance on a heavy two-four beat that sets it apart from other attempts to blend country music with jazz styles--such as were attempted in the southeast.

These anthologies provide examples of some of the genres upon which western swing drew for inspiration. "Up Jumped the Devil" and "Chicken Reel Stomp" are fiddle tunes common throughout the south; "Draggin' the Bow" and "Beaumont Rag" are fiddle tunes from the southwest. From blues musicians were borrowed "What's the Matter with the Mill?", a Memphis Minnie hit of 1930; Kokomo Arnold's "Milk Cow Blues," and "Joe Turner Blues." More in the jazz idiom were W. C. Handy's "Hesitation Blues" and Joe Sullivan's "Gin Mill Blues." "Feather Your Nest" was taken from a 1919 Broadway musical, "Listen

Lester," and "My Little Girl" is a parody of the 1915 hit of the same title. Vintage ragtime is represented by George Botsford's 1910 composition, "Black and White Rag." "Everybody's Truckin'," with its frequent replacement of the euphemistic title by the intended phrase, is one of the rare issues that betrays the complete breakdown of the usual censorial procedures that operated for many decades to keep releases by major companies scrupulously free of the obscene, bawdy, or even suggestive.

The three LPs all make excellent listening (as does also Vol. 1 of the Old Timey series, LP-105, issued a number of years ago). The Old Timey volumes have more complete discographic data (date and place of recording, master and release numbers), which the String LP lacks; but the latter has otherwise more elaborate notes, including a summary of recent material published on the history and background of western swing.

BILL BOYD'S COWBOY RAMBLERS (RCA Bluebird AXM2-5503). A 2-LP set of 32 reissues, originally recorded 1934-1950. Titles: *I'm Gonna Hop Off the Train, The Rambler's Rag, The Strawberry Roan, The Windswept Desert, Going Back to my Texas Home, Mama Don't Like no Music, Under the Double Eagle, Barn Dance Rag, I Can't Tame Wild Women, Wah Hoo, River Blues, Goofus, Saturday Night Rag, Fan It, 'Way Out There, Draggin' It Around, You Shall be Free Monah, Guess Who's in Town, Beaumont Rag, What's the Use, New Steel Guitar Rag, Boyd's Tin Roof Blues, I've Got Those Oklahoma Blues, New Spanish Two Step, Spanish Fandango, Singing & Swinging for Me, La Golondrina, I've Got the Blues for Mammy, Mill Blues, New Ft. Worth Rag, Lone Star Rag, Domino Rag* (previously unissued). Liner notes by Bob Pinson.

With the possible exception of some of the recent Bob Wills reissues, this album is the best re-issue package devoted to a single figure/band in western swing. The selections, arranged chronologically, span the career of one of the three or four most influential, popular, and heavily-recorded (227 numbers issued) of the western swing bands. This set is heavy on instrumentals, for which the Cowboy Ramblers were best known; "Under the Double Eagle," one of their most popular ones, remained in the RCA catalog for over two decades. Like most western swing bands, Boyd's borrowed heavily from blues (Frankie Jaxon's "Fan It"), jazz (Joe Sullivan's "[Gin] Mill Blues"), south of the border ("La Golondrina"), and from Bob Wills, covering his "Spanish Two-Step," "Steel Guitar Rag," and "Spanish Fandango." Fiddle instrumentals were rendered with polish and verve by Art Davis, who played with Boyd throughout his recording career; classically trained Cecil Brower; Jesse Ashlock, and others. Pinson's excellent notes provide biographical background as well as a useful general introduction to western swing music; as with other Bluebird reissue sets, complete discographic data are given.

SPADE COOLEY (Club of Spade 00101; available from Box 1771, Studio City, CA 91604). 12 selections from electrical transcriptions. Titles: *Swingin' the Devil's Dream, Wabash Cannon Ball* (w/ vocal), *Skater's Waltz, Perdido, Pale Moon* (voc), *Campbells Are Coming, You'll Always Be Darlin' to Me, My Heart Cries for You* (voc), *Hollywood Hoedown, A Heart Full of Love* (voc), *Texas Playboy Rag, Shame Shame On You* (voc).

Very little has been written about the rise and fall of Spade Cooley, although his nickname, "King of Western Swing," applied in 1946, may have been the first use of the term "western swing" to denote a musical idiom that previously had been designated by such expressions as "hot string band" and "novelty hot dance." The compilers of this album have put together a brief biographical sketch of Cooley that at last makes available some details of his career. Born Donnell Clyde Cooley in 1910 in Grande, Oklahoma, Spade played his violin at a square dance when he was only eight years old. He studied violin and cello at the Chemawa Indian School in Oregon (he was 1/4 Cherokee) and seemed for a while to be headed for a career as a classical violinist until, as he reportedly explained, he discovered that he couldn't wear cowboy boots while playing Brahms and Beethoven. In the 1930s, along with numerous other Oklahoma dust bowl refugees, Cooley's family moved to Modesto, in the great central valley of California. Here he began playing with small western bands to earn whatever he could. A few years later he moved southward to Los Angeles, where he played whatever musical dates he could, supplementing his income with motion picture work, either as an extra, a stuntman, or a double. In 1941 Spade organized his own band and opened an 18-month engagement at the now-defunct Venice Pier Ballroom. Between 1943 and 1946 he played to overflow crowds at the old Riverside Rancho Ballroom, following which he leased the larger Santa Monica Ballroom, which later became the first televised ballroom program. Between 1946 and 1961 he enjoyed a wave of popularity, with a highly successful televised show, motion picture background music, and personal appearances at military bases and charity events to his credit. Then, his career came suddenly to an end when he was convicted of, and imprisoned for, the murder of his wife. In 1969 he was released on parole; the evening of his release he appeared at a charity benefit, then died of a heart attack later that night.

Cooley's music was more big band music than that of any of the other groups discussed in the preceding reviews: the vocals were more "pop," the fiddles more violin, the repertoire and arrangements more swing than western. Except for a steady reliance on old time fiddle tunes and on western swing favorites recorded by Wills and other bands, it would perhaps be easier to categorize Cooley's music

as big band swing than as western swing--at least that is the impression one gets from these albums of radio transcriptions (previous releases were reviewed in JEMFQ #40, p. 211).

The Farr Brothers: SOUTH IN MY SOUL (Cattle Records, LP 1; Muehlenstrasse 12, D-4006 Erkrath 1, W. Germany). Reissue of 21 selections from Orthacoustic and Standard Transcriptions recorded between 1934 and 1940. Titles: *Cow Across the Road, Blues in E, Jack of Diamonds, Gambler's Blues* (w/voc), *South in My Soul, Boggy Road to Texas, Over the Santa Fe Trail* (voc), *Long Long Ago, A Rag, Fire Alarm Blues, Tom and Jerry, Kerry Waltz, Spanish Cavalier* (voc), *Indian Scout, Riddle Rhythm, Churnin' Butter, The Outlaw, Carlen Stomp, Darkness on the Delta, Limehouse Blues*. Produced by Reimar Binge.

Hugh and Karl Farr were for many years the fiddler and guitarist for the Sons of the Pioneers, and in that role they invariably provided that singing group with competent and effective instrumental backup. Occasionally--on commercial discs--they were given free rein to demonstrate their instrumental skills to better advantage. But on the electrical transcription recordings, originally intended for radio use only, they were really given ample opportunity to shine. Hugh Farr was a brilliant fiddler, steeped in the Texas fiddle tradition but heavily influenced by jazz fiddle of the 1920s and 1930s. Tunes by the Farr Brothers are often difficult to identify aurally; one sometimes has the feeling of listening to the last three in a succession of variations that move progressively further from the basic melody; "Limehouse Blues," on this LP, is a good example of this characteristic of theirs. Karl Farr's guitar work provided adequate accompaniment to Hugh's fiddle, but he tended to rely heavily on a handful of idiosyncratic devices that lend a feeling of repetition to many of his pieces.

The recordings on this LP are drawn from three sources. The first four titles listed above are from Standard Radio Transcriptions of 1934/35, with Hugh Farr, violin/vocal; Leonard Syle (Roy Rogers), guitar/vocal; Bob Nolan, bass/vocal; and Tim Spencer, vocal. The next 9 titles are from Orthacoustic Transcriptions of 1940, with Hugh Farr, violin; Karl Farr, guitar; Pat Brady, bass; Lloyd Perryman, guitar/vocal; and Bob Nolan and Tim Spencer, vocals. The last 8 titles are from Standard Transcriptions of 1934/35 by the Farr Brothers as the Cornhuskers.

This German production (made possible by the cooperation of Ken Griffis) is the first LP devoted to the Farr Brothers (apart from their work as part of the Sons of the Pioneers); a JEMF release should be available later this year.

-- Norm Cohen

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WORKS IN PROGRESS

WILLIAM C. ELLIS is now working on a dissertation on the history and significance of the sentimental "mother song" in American country music of 1923-45. The work will be submitted in English (Folklore) at the Ohio State University.

The first part of the study will synthesize and analyze the texts of these songs as popular literature. It will (1) characterize the philosophies and narrative strategies embodied in sentimental songs in general and mother-songs in particular, and (2) define the specific formulae that govern the mother-songs written or performed during the given period. While the focus will be on these songs' literary meaning--i. e., the ideas explicitly intended in the texts--reference will be made, when necessary, to their sociological context and psychological implications.

The second part will consist of a catalog of mother-songs written or performed in the country tradition between 1923-45. Texts will be classified by narrative unit, according to the techniques now being developed by Dr. D. K. Wilgus, and indexed by title, first line, author (when known), and performer. Although this catalog at present is based on five months' work with the folios, songsters, and recordings at the JEMF, it is still far from complete, and any information about out-of-the-way texts and recordings would be welcomed. In return, the author would be glad to share the data he has compiled with anyone working on related projects or discographies. Please send questions, information, or advice to William C. Ellis, English Department, Denney Hall, Ohio State University, Columbus, OH. 43210.

ERRATUM

The cover of the previous issue of JEMFQ (#45) was erroneously dated Summer 1977. The dateline should have read Spring 1977.

JEMF REPRINT SERIES

Reprints 17-25, available bound as a set only, are \$2.00. All other reprints are \$1.00.

4. "Hillbilly Music: Source and Symbol," by Archie Green. From *Journal of American Folklore*, 78 (1965).
6. "An Introduction to Bluegrass," by L. Mayne Smith. From *Journal of American Folklore*, 78 (1965).
9. "Hillbilly Records and Tune Transcriptions," by Judith McCulloh. From *Western Folklore*, 26 (1967).
10. "Some Child Ballads on Hillbilly Records," by Judith McCulloh. From *Folklore and Society: Essays in Honor of Benj. A. Botkin* (Hatboro, Pa., Folklore Associates 1966).
11. "From Sound to Style: The Emergence of Bluegrass," by Neil V. Rosenberg. From *Journal of American Folklore*, 80 (1967).
12. "The Technique of Variation in an American Fiddle Tune," by Linda C. Burman (Hall). From *Ethnomusicology*, 12 (1968).
13. "Great Grandma," by John I. White. From *Western Folklore*, 27 (1968), and "A Ballad in Search of It's Author," by John I. White. From *Western American Literature*, 2 (1967).
14. "Negro Music: Urban Renewal," by John F. Szwed. From *Our Living Traditions: An Introduction to American Folklore* (New York, Basic Books 1968).
15. "Railroad Folksongs on Record--A Survey," by Norm Cohen. From *New York Folklore Quarterly*, 26 (1970).
16. "Country-Western Music and the Urban Hillbilly," by D. K. Wilgus. From *Journal of American Folklore*, 83 (1970).
- 17-25. Under the title "Commercially Disseminated Folk Music: Sources and Resources," the July 1971 issue of *Western Folklore* included 9 articles by D. K. Wilgus, Eugene Earle, Norm Cohen, Archie Green, Joseph Hickerson, Guthrie T. Meade, Jr., and Bill Malone. Available bound as a set only.
26. "Hear Those Beautiful Sacred Tunes," by Archie Green. From *1970 Yearbook of the International Folk Music Council*.
27. "Some Problems with Musical Public-domain Materials under United States Copyright Law as Illustrated Mainly by the Recent Folk-Song Revival," by O. Wayne Coon. From *Copyright Law Symposium (Number Nineteen)* (New York, Columbia University Press 1971).
28. "The Repertory and Style of a Country Singer: Johnny Cash," by Frederick E. Danker. From *Journal of American Folklore*, 85 (1972).
29. "Country Music: Ballad of the Silent Majority," by Paul DiMaggio, Richard A. Peterson, and Jack Esco, Jr. From *The Sounds of Social Change* (Chicago, Rand McNally & Co. 1972).
30. "Robert W. Gordon and the Second Wreck of 'Old 97'," by Norm Cohen. From *Journal of American Folklore*, 87 (1974).
31. "Keep on the Sunny Side of Life: Pattern and Religious Expression in Bluegrass Gospel Music," by Howard Wight Marshall. From *New York Folklore Quarterly*, 30 (1974).
32. "Southern American Folk Fiddle Styles," by Linda Burman-Hall. From *Ethnomusicology*, 19 (1975).
33. "The Folk Banjo: A Documentary History," by Dena J. Epstein. From *Ethnomusicology*, 19 (1975).
34. "Single-Industry Firm to Conglomerate Synergistics: Alternative Strategies for Selling Insurance and Country Music," a study of the impact of National Life and Accident Insurance Co. on the Grand Ole Opry, by Richard A. Peterson. From *Growing Metropolis: Aspects of Development in Nashville* (Vanderbilt University Press, 1975).

JEMF SPECIAL SERIES

2. *Johnny Cash Discography and Recording History (1955-1968)*, by John L. Smith. \$2.00.
3. *Uncle Dave Macon: A Bio-Discography*, by Ralph Rinzler and Norm Cohen. \$2.00.
4. *From Blues to Pop: The Autobiography of Leonard "Baby Doo" Caston*, edited by Jeff Titon. \$1.50.
5. *'Hear My Song': The Story of the Sons of the Pioneers*, by Ken Griffis. \$6.25.
6. *Gennett Records of Old Time Tunes*, A Catalog Reprint. \$2.00.
7. *Molly O'Day, Lynn Davis, and the Cumberland Mountain Folks: A Bio-Discography*, by Ivan M. Tribe and John W. Morris. \$3.50.
8. *Reflections: The Autobiography of Johnny Bond*. \$4.00.
9. *Fiddlin' Sid's Memoirs: The Autobiography of Sidney J. Harkreader*, edited by Walter D. Haden. \$4.00.

JEMF LP RECORDS (All LPs are \$6.25; price includes accompanying booklet)

- LP 101: *The Carter Family on Border Radio*. ET recordings not previously available for sale.
- LP 102: *The Sons of the Pioneers*. ET recordings not previously available for sale.
- LP 103: *Paramount Old Time Tunes*. A Sampler from the Paramount label of the 1920s and '30s.
- LP 104: *Presenting the Blue Sky Boys*. Reissue of 1965 Capitol LP.

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JEMF QUARTERLY

VOL. 13

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Number 46

CONTENTS

Letters	49
Folk and Hillbilly Music: Further Thoughts on Their Relation, by Anne & Norm Cohen	50
Spatial Diffusion of the All-Country Music Radio Stations in the United States, 1971-74, by George O. Carney	58
The Hit Song Writer That Nashville Forgot (But Not the Rest of Us), by Johnny Bond	67
Commercial Music Graphics, #41: Brunswick's Folksong Discs, 1928, by Archie Green	73
Tex Ritter in the Twilight Years, by Texas Jim Cooper	79
A Bibliography of Fiddling in North America (Part 6), by Michael Mendelson	88
<i>Jim and Jesse</i> : A Review Essay on Fan Historiography, by Scott Hamblly	96
Abstracts of Academic Dissertations: <i>The Carter Family: Sources for Song</i> , by Margaret Anne Bolger	99
Book Reviews: <i>The Tex Ritter Story</i> , by Johnny Bond (reviewed by Norm Cohen); <i>Working Women's Music</i> , by Evelyn Alloy (Norm Cohen)	100
Bibliographic Notes	101
Record Reviews	102
Works in Progress	104

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Members of the Friends of the JEMF receive the *JEMF Quarterly* as part of their \$8.50 (or more) annual membership dues. Individual subscriptions are \$8.50 per year for the current year; Library subscription rates are \$10.00 per year. Back issues of Volumes 6-11 (Numbers 17 through 40) are available at \$2.00 per copy. (Xerographic and microform copies of *JEMFQ* are available from University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Mich.)

The *JEMF Quarterly* is edited by Norm Cohen. Manuscripts that fall within the area of the JEMF's activities and goals (see inside front cover) are invited, but should be accompanied by an addressed, stamped return envelope. All manuscripts, books and records for review, and other communications should be addressed to: Editor, *JEMFQ*, John Edwards Memorial Foundation, at the Folklore & Mythology Center, University of California, Los Angeles, CA., 90024.

JEMF QUARTERLY

JOHN EDWARDS MEMORIAL FOUNDATION



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THE JEMF

The John Edwards Memorial Foundation is an archive and research center located in the Folklore and Mythology Center of the University of California at Los Angeles. It is chartered as an educational non-profit corporation, supported by gifts and contributions.

The purpose of the JEMF is to further the serious study and public recognition of those forms of American folk music disseminated by commercial media such as print, sound recordings, films, radio, and television. These forms include the music referred to as *cowboy, western, country & western, old time, hillbilly, bluegrass, mountain, country, cajun, sacred, gospel, race, blues, rhythm and blues, soul, and folk rock*.

The Foundation works toward this goal by:

gathering and cataloguing phonograph records, sheet music, song books, photographs, biographical and discographical information, and scholarly works, as well as related artifacts;

compiling, publishing, and distributing bibliographical, biographical, discographical, and historical data;

reprinting, with permission, pertinent articles originally appearing in books and journals;

and reissuing historically significant out-of-print sound recordings.

The *Friends of the JEMF* was organized as a voluntary non-profit association to enable persons to support the Foundation's work.

Gifts and contributions to the Foundation qualify as tax deductions.

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"SHE KEPT ON A - GOIN'": ETHEL PARK RICHARDSON

By Jon G. Smith

[*Ethel Park Richardson had a fascinating career collecting mountain folksongs and presenting them to urban American audiences. Her grandson, Jon G. Smith of White Plains, New York, has devoted considerable effort to documenting her career.*]

Ethel Park Richardson was many things to many people, as indeed we all are. To songwriter/columnist Nick Kenny, she was "the mother of radio's hillbilly sweetness, and his personal favorite radio writer. To readers of her volume of "American Mountain Songs," she was a pioneer folklorist. To television viewers of the 1950s, she was a plucky old woman from Tennessee who, after years of living in retirement on a total budget of \$80 a month, became the first person to win the \$100,000 prize on a quiz program, in the category of American folklore. To me, her grandson, she was an energetic, dedicated, even-tempered, grandmotherly little woman who could do anything with her hands--from sawing boards to sewing exquisitely-embroidered handkerchiefs, and from building her own house-trailer to playing the zither, dulcimer and melodeon as accompaniment to her sweet singing of folksongs and lullabies. She was, to me, a storyteller without parallel; a dreamer with whom it was fun to share dreams; a friend whose pathway crossed mine for an all-too-brief while; who, in her gentle way, influenced the future course of my life before I had entered grammar school.

My grandmother liked to say that she was born "singing instead of crying" in the shadow of Cumberland Mountain, in the quiet little town of Decherd, Tennessee. She was the ninth in a family of eleven children, born 13 December 1883 and christened Ethel Sloan Park - the "Sloan" being in honor of the doctor who delivered her. Her father, Lunsford Yandell Park, was the local railroad telegrapher and depot agent--and played the fiddle. Her mother, Isabella Barron, played the piano, and all her brothers and sisters sang.

The Park family moved to Chattanooga while Ethel was still a child, and her brothers and sisters promptly joined the choir of the Central Baptist Church. Her own first love was writing, and while attending Chattanooga High School, she wrote a great many poems, some of which were published in the local newspapers. Her literary talents brought about a friendship with classmate Paul Jordan Smith, son of a Methodist minister, and they were married in 1904.

The young couple eventually removed to Illinois, where Paul became a minister in the Universalist Church and, in the course of a few years, Ethel Park Smith found herself a young minister's wife with three children. The marriage was terminated in 1912. No long afterward, my grandfather went

to California, where he turned from the ministry to a career as an author, lecturer, and literary editor of the Los Angeles Times. Grandma, meanwhile, was left in the midwest with three toddlers, whom she managed to feed and clothe by taking in sewing, baking cakes, and ghost-writing poetry for a very well-known writer whose verses were widely syndicated to newspapers across the country at that time.

She eventually married a deacon in my grandfather's former church, James P. Richardson, and they moved to Houston, Texas, where Dr. Richardson opened and operated a private school. During the years of their marriage, my grandmother continued to write and publish poetry and even journeyed to New York, at one point, to enroll in a play-writing course at Columbia University. Her career as a folklorist began when she was headmistress of the school, following the death of Dr. Richardson.

Well-known musicologist Sigmund Spaeth was traveling around the country on a lecture tour, under the auspices of the Knabe Piano Company, and as he happened to be in Houston one day in 1926, he was invited to speak at the Prosser Preparatory School. The evening of his appearance at the school, Dr. Spaeth dined at my grandmother's home and was surprised to find that she had a vast repertoire of old songs, some of which he felt might fit into a book he was preparing, entitled *Read 'em and Weep*, a compilation of songs which he felt were representative of various periods in the history of American popular music. Spaeth was intrigued with his hostess' knowledge and background, and during a subsequent visit, told her of a publisher in New York with whom he had been in contact regarding a proposed collection of Appalachian folk songs. He was by now convinced that no one could be better suited to the task of compiling such a collection than Ethel Park Richardson--a native of Tennessee, a folksinger, an educator, and a very energetic woman whose children were grown and whose career as a headmistress was concluding with the imminent closing of the school in Houston.

Through the efforts of Sigmund Spaeth, Grandma received a contract from publisher Jae Greenberg on 18 August 1926, and \$100 for travel expenses so that she might wander throughout the Appalachians for the next few months, gathering

folk songs to be arranged later for publication in book form. She had had no formal training as a folklorist or musician, but she had been gathering old songs of all types since childhood and she had long loved the hill people, their songs and stories, and the beautiful hills in which they lived. She journeyed as far as possible into the highlands by automobile, then scurried on mule-back from one mountain settlement to the next, tackling this pleasant task with the same undaunted enthusiasm she applied to all her undertakings. At a time in life when many women might retire to their crocheting, Ethel Park Richardson was bouncing along in hay wagons and on swaybacked horses in search of strange beauty.

Some of the songs she collected during the first few trips were published by Greenberg in 1927 in the book *American Mountain Songs*. My grandmother embarked on a lecture tour in connection with the book's release, dressed in the authentic garb of a mountain woman, wearing a bonnet more than 100 years old which was presented to her by the mother of World War I hero Sgt. Alvin York, a Tennessee mountaineer. She sang and played the folk songs exactly as she had heard them, told stories about the mountain folk, and showed sixteen millimeter motion pictures which she had taken while in the highlands. At the same time, she appeared on a series of radio broadcasts over WDOD in Chattanooga, spinning yarns and singing "hill-billy" songs.

The success of her programs over WDOD prompted my grandmother to go to New York City late in 1927, where she began broadcasting on several small stations, singing folk songs and accompanying herself on the zither and dulcimer. She had been in New York only a few weeks when she had the opportunity to give an on-the-air audition over station WJZ, which was affiliated with the National Broadcasting Company. Her audition happened to be on an international hook-up, and her act consisted not of hillbilly songs and stories, but rather those of the American Negro. She was signed, ten days later, to co-star in a series entitled, "The Cabin Door," based on Negro folklore, and she subsequently appeared with Moran and Mack, "The Two Black Crows," playing the continuing role of Camilla Crow. An expert dialectician, Grandma had been fascinated with the songs, stories and customs of her Negro friends since childhood, and because of the care she took in making her "Mammy" characterizations "authentic," embodied with the respect and affection she held for the folklore and heritage of the American Negro, she won a large and devoted following in Harlem, frequently receiving gifts and tokens of esteem from her listeners. She once performed a Negro version of the story of "David and Goliath" on a coast-to-coast broadcast and was heartily congratulated by actor George Arliss, a guest-artist on the same program.

In 1928, Grandma was portraying a Negro maid over New York station WOR, which was owned at that time by Bamberger's department store, and it occurred to her that there might be some benefit to both the

store and the station if products were advertised during the course of the programs. At that time, all shows broadcast in her particular time period were on a "sustaining" basis - but, contrary to the better judgment of the owner, Grandma, in her "Cindy Brown" role, began ad-libbing a plug one day for some of the store's special values. The audience reaction was overwhelming and the store was unable to satisfy all the customers who flocked in to buy the plugged merchandise "Cindy" had so enthusiastically endorsed. She was, therefore, a pioneer in the field of radio commercials.

One of her shows in those early years consisted of my grandmother telling tales in between playing hillbilly phonograph records, so she was also a pioneer disc jockey. Gifted with a pleasant, soothing voice and an engaging personality, she might have made her mark in the performing end of the business alone, but her desire to write overcame her fondness for performing.

Beginning in 1929, my grandmother authored a number of radio series, the best of which was "The Wayside Cottage," also entitled, at various times, "The House Beside the Road." Based in part on fond memories of her parents in Tennessee and in part on Sam Walter Foss' poem, "The House by the Side of the Road," this sentimental series about two kind old souls known only as "Pa" and "Mother," who lived by the side of a country road and were quick to lend a helping hand to all passersby in trouble, had a brief run in early 1931, sponsored by the American Mutual Liability Insurance Company; a six-month run on WOR three times a week, from 9 September 1932 to 31 March 1933, sponsored by Kopper's Seaboard Cole Company; and a brief run as a summer replacement series on the CBS network, from 10 July to 13 September 1934.

Her greatest success in radio, however, came with a series she created and developed in 1933 - a show with a fresh concept. She proposed to dramatize a different folk song each week, selecting a song from her "American Mountain Songs" collection as the subject for each episode and building a story around it. In lieu of the standard organ of orchestral music used as a bridge between scenes in the story, she decided to have singers bridge the scenes with verses from the ballad being dramatized. NBC liked the concept, and the show made its network debut on 22 May 1933, on a sustaining basis, under the title, "Hillbilly Heart-throbs." Grandma wrote the signature song herself:

"Oh, sing me a hillbilly heart-throb;
A song full of love and despair.
Of a hero so bold and so handsome,
And a maiden so helpless and fair;
O, sing of their love in the mountains,
Where the mockingbird sings by its nest.
Of all the sweet songs you can mention,
An old mountain song is the best."



'The Big Surprise'

Woman, 72, Wins \$100,000 on TV

From United Press and Associated Press

NEW YORK, Dec. 10—A folksinging great-grandmother tonight won \$100,000 on a quiz show—the largest cash prize in the history of television or radio—by singing cowboy songs and answering questions on American folklore.

Ethel Park Richardson, 72, of Los Angeles, who travels all over the country by trailer to gather material on her specialty, won the \$100,000 on her second try on the NBC television program, "The Big Surprise."

After a heartbreaking miss last week, when she did not know the Indian name for the Wilderness Trail, Mrs. Richardson tonight breezed through five parts of her big question, and then sang in a quavering voice the first verse of "The Streets of Laredo."

"I'm going to give a tenth of it to Him," Mrs. Richardson said, gesturing Heavenward, after the fanfare and applause.

Master of Ceremonies Jack Barry announced that the questions for Mrs. Richardson had been prepared by Califor-

nia Governor Goodwin J. Knight.

Mrs. Richardson was the first contestant to reach the \$100,000 end of the trail on "The Big Surprise."

Two persons have won \$64,000 on another television quiz show, CBS' "The \$64,000 Question."

Mrs. Richardson got a second chance at the gigantic jackpot when she was "rescued"—according to contest rules—by Annie Phelan, of Memphis, Tenn., who identified California's William F. Knowland as the Senator who recently declared his intention of announcing himself as a candidate for the presidency if President Eisenhower does not announce his candidacy by February 1. She got \$1000.

For the big prize Mrs. Richardson identified the Erie Canal as the "Highway to the West" built in 1825. She identified the Shenandoah of the folk song as an Indian Chief. She named the Wahash river as the one mentioned in a song called "El-a-noy."

For the fourth part she identified "The Streets of Laredo."

For the fifth part she named Laura as the girl of the Colorado Trail with eyes of a morning star and cheeks like a rose.

How much Mrs. Richardson will have left after taxes depends on a number of things, including how much she gives to charity. She has estimated she will net in the neighborhood of \$30,000.

Above left: Ethel Park Richardson in her youth; below, in 1956. At right: Clipping from San Francisco Chronicle, 11 December 1955. All photos, clippings, letters, and other facsimiles provided by the author.

GREENBERG, PUBLISHER, INC.



August 18th, 1926.

Mrs. E. P. Richardson,
Houston, Tex.

Dear Mrs. Richardson:

I am sending you today a check for \$100.00 to cover traveling expenses, and an additional check will be sent to you as soon as you have returned and are ready to have your songs set to music.

We must be careful not to duplicate the other books on the market. The most famous collection of mountain songs is, of course, Cecil Sharp's, which has thousands of songs, but only those of English origin. There are two other good small collections, both by Howard Brockway. One is published by Gray, and the other by Ditson. One is called "Lonesome Tunes", and the other, I believe, is called "25 Kentucky Mountain Songs", tho I am not sure of this.

The best of luck to you. Let me know from time to time how you are getting along.

I think you ought to try to collect about 50 songs at least, so that we can have some choice. The book might eventually include as many as 40 songs.

Sincerely,

J.G:JM

112 East Nineteenth Street, New York

Cable Address: GREENINK, New York

The "maiden so helpless and fair" was enacted each week by Anne Elstner, a fine and sensitive actress who later became radio's "Stella Dallas" on the long-running afternoon soap opera. Each week, Anne was called upon to portray a different part--that of "Blue-Eyed Ellen," "Barbara Allen," "Little Omie Wise," the sweetheart of the unlucky engineer in "Wreck of the Old '97," and many other heroines from folksong lyrics.

The "hero so bold and so handsome" was usually portrayed by Curtis Arnall. Other actors and actresses who frequently appeared on the series were Agnes Moorehead, Billy and Florence Halop, Bud Collyer, Tex Ritter, Walter Tetley, Robert Strauss, Irene Hubbard, Bob Porterfield, Jackie Kelk, Warren Colston, Parker Fennelly, Ray Collins, Junius Matthews, Juano Hernandez, Dick Kollmar and Cecil Secrist. Grandma generally played a part in each episode herself, almost always that of an old mountain mother or granny-woman.

She was extremely fortunate in securing the services of two people whom we both long regarded as among the finest artists in the business, our good friends Frank Luther and Zora Layman. Joined by Len Stokes, and later Caron Robison, they appeared as the Frank Luther Trio on "Hillbilly Heart-throbs" (the title changing on 6 May 1934 to "Heart-throbs of the Hills" in order to avoid using the term "hillbilly") performing, in their exquisite manner, the folksongs interwoven into each story. Frank and Zora remained on the show until 7 April 1935, at which time other commitments made it impossible for them to continue, so Grandma asked the amiable and multi-talented Carson Robison to form a trio and take over the musical portion of the show. The Carson Robison Singers remained with the series until 22 October 1935, the last broadcast under the title "Heart-throbs of the Hills."

There were many old songs my grandmother wanted to dramatize for radio - many of which didn't fit into the folksong category, such as the works of Stephen Foster, Septimus Winner, Henry Clay Work and other nineteenth century composers. These "fireside" songs could not be successfully dramatized in hillbilly dialect, so on 6 November 1935, "Heart-throbs of the Hills" became "Dreams of the Long Ago." The Vass Family (Frank, Virginia, Sally, Emily and Louisa) supplied the musical portion of the show, while Helen Claire was usually cast as the ladies in the song lyrics. As "Dreams of the Long Ago," the series remained on NBC until 30 October 1938.

In 1939, NBC Program Services, a newly-formed division of the National Broadcasting Company engaged in the production and syndication of transcribed programs, decided to produce a recorded series of fifty-two fifteen-minute episodes of "Heart-throbs of the Hills," to be leased to small, independent stations throughout the United States and Canada. Using her old network scripts, edited down from their original half-hour lengths, my grandmother gathered talent willing and able to work for modest pay (inasmuch as the syndicated series was produced on a low budget) and formed her own

group of singers, consisting of Margaret and Travis Johnson and my cousin, Bella Allen, to provide the musical interludes. This group later made various recordings under the name, "The Song Spinners." At any rate, the fifty-two recorded episodes were pressed up onto sixteen 16" vinyl discs, with a complete quarter-hour episode on each side. The discs were syndicated to many small stations around the country throughout the 1940s, but to the best of my knowledge, only one of the many 16" transcriptions pressed up by NBC is in existence today, and it is in NBC's library in New York.

After completing production of the recorded "Heart-throbs of the Hills" programs, Grandma devoted most of her time to writing and appearing in another transcribed series, "Uncle Natchel," sponsored by the Chilean Nitrate Company, throughout the South. The product was a fertilizer. The theme of this series was "folklore found in history," and in each episode, the kindly old "Uncle Natchel," a sort of Uncle Remus-type character excellently played by Frank Wilson, would tell a group of children a fanciful tale connected with some historical event. As in "Heart-throbs of the Hills," a country music group would provide folksong interludes between scenes in the stories.

"Uncle Natchel" went out of production in December 1941. Grandma was fifty-eight years old at that time, and all her activities in the hectic world of radio were beginning to leave her feeling exhausted much of the time. Her doctor advised a long rest, so she packed her grips and moved to Southern California, where, earlier that year, she had seen her stage play, "A-Lovin' and A-Feudin'," a hillbilly version of Romeo and Juliet, produced by the Pasadena Playhouse. By this time, she was living in a house trailer which she had personally helped to construct several years earlier, and with which she would periodically journey out across the country in search of folksongs. She parked her trailer, permanently, on Rochester Avenue in Los Angeles, built a porch onto the front of it, planted flowers and shrubs around it, surrounded it with a white picket fence, and lived there for the next twenty years.

Grandma wrote a great deal after her retirement from radio, but published little. She continued to sing folksongs, but usually just for the enjoyment of her grandchildren. She did not emerge from retirement until April of 1954, at which time she appeared as a contestant on the NBC radio quiz program, "Walk a Mile," sponsored by Camel Cigarettes. The stakes were not high and her winnings were small, but NBC received much enthusiastic fan mail, some of which I have today, asking for more of the "delightful old lady who talked about the mountaineers."

More was indeed forthcoming, for in the fall of 1955, the NBC television network came up with a quiz program entitled, "The Big Surprise," a show similar to CBS' highly successful "\$64,000

NATIONAL BROADCASTING COMPANY, INC.



A RADIO CORPORATION OF AMERICA SUBSIDIARY

RCA BUILDING

30 ROCKEFELLER PLAZA

NEW YORK



January
Twenty-ninth
1934

Mrs. Ethel Park Richardson
4519 - 42nd Street
Long Island City, N. Y.

Dear Mrs. Richardson:

As you are aware, we have booked "Hill Billy Heart Throbs" in a half-hour version commencing February 6th.

Our letter of agreement dated May 15th, 1933 provides for paying you \$25.00 net per script when the scripts are of 15 minutes' duration. We are prepared to pay \$50.00 per script, less our commission of 10%, seeing that the scripts are to be now written so that each program occupies thirty minutes.

We send this letter to you in duplicate asking you to sign one copy if the above arrangement is agreeable to you, and return it to us.

Yours very truly,

NATIONAL BROADCASTING COMPANY INC.

By

L. H. Titterton

Manager - Literary Rights Division

DATED _____ 1934.

ACCEPTED _____ (LS)

Question," except that the top prize offered on the NBC show was to be \$100,000. Grandma wrote a "crazy" letter," as she called it, to the show's producer and asked to be a contestant, explaining her qualifications and enclosing a photograph of herself in her mountaineer costume. The producer remembered her, telephoned, and asked her to fly to New York to be a contestant in the category, naturally enough, of American folklore.

She made her first appearance on the program on Saturday night, 5 November 1955. Before answering the first question, she was interviewed by the master of ceremonies, Jack Barry, and had the opportunity to tell a couple of amusing stories. Both the studio audience and the television audience loved her. For six successive weeks, Ethel Park Richardson sang mountain ballads and cowboy songs, identified people and places in folklore, and told colorful tales until at last, on 10 December 1955, she became the first contestant ever to win \$100,000 on a television program. Her many years of research and collecting had paid off handsomely and another career began for Grandma at the age of 72. Her 1927 volume of *American Mountain Songs* was reissued, this time with a dust jacket showing her picture and billing her as winner of the fabulous \$100,000 prize.

She gave part of her winnings to the Braille Institute for the Blind, because of her long-time friend Sigmund Spaeth's interest in that organization; some to the Church of the Garden in Forest Hills, New York; some to restore the burned-down dormitory of a school for colored children in the Carolinas; and some to a Negro church in Tennessee. Her son, Wilbur Smith, was at the time librarian for the Special Collections section of the UCLA

Library and he urged her to contribute \$5,000 to that institution. Part of the money was used to acquire several lots of rare broadside ballads, giving UCLA one of the finest such collections in the country. I cannot recall her spending any money on herself, other than to purchase a much-needed new Ford automobile.

Much publicity resulted from her television triumph, and newspapers around the world picked up the story of the grandmother who, after years of living in a humble house-trailer on a budget of \$80 a month, had won \$100,000 through her knowledge of traditional songs and legends. She made various personal appearances, delivered many lectures, and turned up on several television and radio programs and some commercials. She was unable to accept an invitation to appear as a guest on the "Grand Ole Opry" when she suffered a broken arm in a fall, which temporarily sidetracked her activities, but she continued to travel, write, sing and speak about American folklore for the next eleven years.

Her last few years were spent quietly in Fresno, California, where she passed away on 11 April 1968 at the age of 84. I am in possession of all her scripts and other papers, and have recently prepared a revised manuscript of her *American Mountain Songs*, adding numerous songs which she collected in the '20s which were not included in the original edition. I expect the new edition of the book to be published in the near future.

Thus, as my grandmother's work is carried on, and as her many contributions are recognized and remembered, the words she selected many years ago to be her epitaph are genuinely prophetic: "She kept on a'goin'."

OPEN MEETING

the

Treble Clef Club

presents

ETHEL PARK RICHARDSON

IN A COSTUME RECITAL

with

AMERICAN MOUNTAIN SONGS



WOMEN'S CLUB AUDITORIUM

May 21st., 1928

8:15 p. m.

THE AMERICAN MOUNTAINEER *Fifteen Minutes of Reminiscence*
"AT HOME IN THE HILLS" *A Motion Picture of the People*
Taken by Mrs. Richardson

THE MOUNTAIN MAN'S SONGS

Ballads-

1. THE TWO SISTERS
2. BLUE-EYED ELLEN
3. THE PARDON OF SYDNA ALLEN

Lonesome and Love Tunes-

1. MY GRANDMOTHER
2. DEEP BLUE SEA
3. SALLY

Spiritual-

1. OLE SHIP O'ZION

Nonsense Songs-

1. SOURWOOD MOUNTAIN
2. GROWN HAWG.

TITLE LISTING FOR ETHEL PARK RICHARDSON'S RADIO PROGRAMS

Ethel Park Richardson's song dramatizations began on the NBC network on 22 May 1933, under the title HILLBILLY HEART-THROBS. A year later, the title was changed to HEART-THROBS OF THE HILLS. On 6 November 1935, the show's title was again changed to DREAMS OF THE LONG AGO, in order to permit her to dramatize old songs which were not necessarily hillbilly or folksongs. The series ended its network run on 30 October 1938. In 1939, NBC Program Services produced a series of 52 15-minute transcribed versions of HEART-THROBS OF THE HILLS for syndication. Here is a checklist - incomplete, unfortunately - indicating episode titles and dates.

NBC Radio ProgramsHILLBILLY HEART-THROBS (1933)

22 May BLUE-EYED ELLEN
 29 May THEY GOTTA QUIT KICKIN' MY DAWG
 AROUND!
 5 June THE PARDON OF SYNDA ALLEN
 12 June
 19 June
 26 June SOURWOOD MOUNTAIN
 3 July
 10 July THE LETTER EDGED IN BLACK
 17 July BIRMINGHAM JAIL
 24 July SINFUL TO FLIRT
 31 July
 18 August CARELESS LOVE
 25 August

(the above 13 shows appeared as a summer replacement on NBC)

HILLBILLY HEART-THROBS (1934)

6 February COMIN' ROUND THE MOUNTAIN
 13 February BIRMINGHAM JAIL
 20 February BLUE-EYED ELLEN
 27 February SOURWOOD MOUNTAIN
 13 March BARBARA ALLEN
 20 March CARELESS LOVE
 27 March BOLL WEEVIL BLUES
 3 April THE PRISONER AT THE BAR
 10 April
 17 April THE LITTLE MOHEE
 6 May THE LITTLE ROSEWOOD CASKET

(beginning with the above show, the title was changed to):

HEART-THROBS OF THE HILLS (1934-35)

13 May MOONSHINE
 20 May MISTER FROGGIE WENT A-COURTIN'
 27 May OLD ROBIN GRAY
 31 May THE MARY GOLDEN TREE
 5 June CHARMING BILLY
 12 June HAND ME DOWN MY WALKIN' CANE
 19 June
 26 June
 15 July CHURCH IN THE WILDWOOD
 22 July JIMMY RANDALL
 29 July THE TWO SISTERS
 5 August MY GRANDMOTHER
 12 August
 19 August GROUND HAWK
 26 August FRANKIE BAKER
 2 September
 9 September THE LADY AND THE GLOVE
 16 September DOGGET GAP
 23 September POOR ELLEN SMITH
 7 October
 14 October LIDDIE MARGET
 22 October WRECK OF THE F. F. V.

29 October
 4 November THE SHEPHERD'S DAUGHTER
 11 November THE SUFFOLK MIRACLE
 18 November LITTLE OMIE WISE
 25 November DOWN DOWN, DERRY DOWN
 1 December THE BROWN GIRL
 10 December
 17 December LORENA
 23 December THE CHERRY TREE CAROL
 30 December THE MISTLETOE BOUGH
 (1935)
 6 January SEEING NELLY HOME
 13 January
 20 January GRANDFATHER'S CLOCK
 27 January THE FATAL WEDDING
 3 February OH, SOLDIER, WON'T YOU MARRY,
 MARRY ME?
 10 February THE OLD ARM-CHAIR
 24 February YANKEE DOODLE
 3 March WAIT FOR THE WAGON
 10 March THEY CUT DOWN THE OLD PINE TREE
 17 March MY BARNEY IS OVER THE OCEAN
 24 March ZEB TURNEY'S GAL
 7 April THE BALLAD OF THE FALSE LOVER
 14 April LISTEN TO THE MOCKINGBIRD
 21 April GET AWAY, OLD MAN, GET AWAY
 28 April OKLAHOMA CHARLEY
 14 May THE OLD WOODEN ROCKER
 28 May JOHN BROWN'S BODY
 4 June THE SHIP THAT NEVER RETURNED
 18 June THE BIRD IN A GUILDED CAGE
 25 June GIDDYAP, NAPOLEON!
 16 July LEFT MY GAL IN THE MOUNTAINS
 23 July WHEN YOU AND I WERE YOUNG, MAGGIE
 30 July RED RIVER VALLEY
 6 August CAMPTOWN RACES
 13 August THE WEEPING WILLOW
 20 August DIXIE
 27 August THE WRECK OF NUMBER NINE
 3 September THE BIG ROCK CANDY MOUNTAIN
 17 September DOWN IN THE CANE BRAKE
 24 September DOWN IN THE VALLEY
 1 October BILLY THE KID
 8 October MY DARLIN' NELLIE GRAY
 22 October SKIP TO MY LOU

(Two weeks later, the title of the series was changed to "DREAMS OF THE LONG AGO")

DREAMS OF THE LONG AGO (1935-38)

6 November OLD BLACK JOE
 (1936)
 22 January THE OLD OAKEN BUCKET
 26 January OLD DAN TUCKER
 5 February SILVER THREADS AMONG THE GOLD
 12 February THE ROSARY
 19 February CARRY ME BACK TO OLE VIRGINNY
 26 February COMIN' THROUGH THE RYE
 16 March KINGDOM COMIN'
 23 March LITTLE BOY BLUE

30 March	LI'L LIZA JANE	29 August	WHEN THE LIGHTS ARE LOW
6 April	THE GYPSY'S WARNING	5 September	BONNIE DUNDEE
13 April	THE BIRD ON NELLIE'S HAT	12 September	
20 April	STEAMBOAT BILL	19 September	THE HOUSE BY THE SIDE OF THE ROAD
26 April	LONG, LONG AGO	26 September	
5 May	THE LOW-BACKED CAR	3 October	ROCKING ALONE IN AN OLD ROCKING CHAIR
11 May	DE BIG 'SOCIATION	10 October	THE MARTINS AND THE COYS
18 May	THE OLD KENTUCKY HOME	17 October	GIT ALONG LITTLE DOGIES
25 May	A PAPER OF PINS	24 October	LORD LOVELL
1 June	THE BLUE AND THE GRAY	31 October	LITTLE ORPHAN ANNIE
8 June	SAM BASS (Texas Centennial Program)	7 November	AULD ROBIN GRAY
8 June	I LOVE MY ROOSTER	14 November	THE LOST CHORD
21 June	WEEVILY WHEAT	21 November	THE MARY GOLDEN TREE
12 July	ALICE, WHERE ART THOU?	28 November	DEAR OLD GIRL
19 July	THE SWEETEST STORY EVER TOLD	5 December	THROW OUT THE LIFE-LINE
26 July	POP GOES THE WEASEL	12 December	THREE-FOLD DESTINY
2 August	JEANNIE WITH THE LIGHT BROWN HAIR	19 December	THOMPSON'S OLD GREY MULE
9 August	LA PALOMA	26 December	THE LEGEND OF THE BELL (1938)
16 August	THE LOST CHORD	2 January	
23 August	SING ME AN OLD MOUNTAIN HEART-THROB	9 January	UNCLE NED
30 August	BACKWARD, TURN BACKWARD, OH TIME IN YOUR FLIGHT	16 January	
6 September		23 January	MAUD MULLER
13 September	WHEN JOHNNY COMES MARCHING HOME	30 January	SINFUL TO FLIRT
20 September	LOVE'S OLD SWEET SONG	6 February	HENRY CONQUEST'S CHILD
27 September	THE LORELEI	13 February	
4 October	RED RIVER VALLEY	20 February	HAMLET (Hillbilly version)
11 October	PUT ON YOUR OLD GRAY BONNET	27 February	GILES SCROGGINS' GHOST
18 October		6 March	ON THE WILD NEW ENGLAND SHORE
25 October	TOLL DE BELL, ANGEL	13 March	MACBETH (Hillbilly version)
1 November	LEAD, KINDLY LIGHT	20 March	
8 November	DUNA	27 March	SEEIN' NELLY HOME (THE QUILTING PARTY)
15 November		3 April	MY GRANDMOTHER LIVED ON YONDER LITTLE GREEN
22 November		10 April	THE MERCHANT OF VENICE (Hillbilly version)
29 November	YOUNG CHARLOTTE	17 April	AN EASTER STORY
13 December	HOME SWEET HOME	24 April	
20 December	RING MERRILY, BELLS	1 May	JULIUS CAESER (Hillbilly version)
27 December	THE HOLLY AND THE IVY (1937)	8 May	MOTHERS OF MEN
3 January	THE MAN ON THE FLYING TRAPEZE	15 May	YOUNG LOCHINVAR
10 January	JENNY JONES	22 May	BIRTHDAY PARTY - 5th ANNIVERSARY OF THE SHOW
17 January		29 May	ROMEO AND JULIET (Hillbilly version)
24 January		5 June	
23 February	WHERE IS MY BOY TONIGHT	12 June	JULIUS CAESER (Hillbilly version)
9 March	WHEN THE WHITE AZALEAS START BLOOMING	19 June	BARBARA ALLEN
16 March	RYE WHISKEY	26 June	NATTY DAN
23 March	THE LITTLE BROWN JUG	3 July	THE TAMING OF THE SHREW (Hillbilly version)
30 March	PALE MOON	10 July	THE WEEPING WILLOW
11 April	AULD LANG SYNE	17 July	WENT UP ON THE MOUNTAIN
18 April		24 July	
25 April		14 August	UPON MOUNT OLYMPUS (Hillbilly version)
2 May	LONG LONG AGO	21 August	KING ROBERT OF SICILY
16 May	ROBIN HOOD AND THE PRINCE OF ARAGON	28 August	
23 May	IF YOU'RE EVER GOIN' TO LOVE ME	4 September	TWELFTH NIGHT (Hillbilly version)
6 June	BEAUTIFUL DREAMER	11 September	THE HEIR OF LINNE
13 June	BELIEVE ME IF ALL THOSE ENDEARING YOUNG CHARMS	18 September	EVANGELINE
20 June	A RICH IRISH LADY	25 September	THE FOOLISH BOY
27 June	WHAT ARE THE WILD WAVES SAYING?	2 October	THE GREAT ADELANTADO
4 July	I'LL BE ALL SMILES TONIGHT	9 October	OTHELLO (Hillbilly version)
11 July		16 October	THE OLD FOLKS AT HOME
18 July	THE LADY CLAIRE	23 October	THE FALCON OF SER FEDERIGO
25 July	TWO LITTLE GIRLS IN BLUE	30 October	HALLOWEEN PARTY
1 August	THE GUINEA-BLUE GOWN		
8 August			
15 August	MEET ME TONIGHT IN DREAMLAND		
22 August	SOURWOOD MOUNTAIN		

CC-175-52

HEART-THROBS OF THE HILLS
"THEY CUT DOWN THE OLD PINE TREE"

EPISODE #52

RADIO DRAMATIC WORK

BY

ETHEL PARK RICHARDSON

CAST

FRANK LUTHER TRIO	AGNES MOREHEAD.....ELVINEY
ANNE ELSTNER.....ELEN	JACK ROSELEIGH.....THE PREACHER
CURTIS ARNAL.....WILLY	ETHEL PARK RICHARDSON...MAW AND ABBIE

SOUND EFFECTS

Wind in Pines.
Sawing of limb - limb breaking and falling to ground.
Screech-owl - wind howling in ravine
Door
Wagon and horses on dirt road
Chopping of tree with axe
Saw-mill
Clatter of boards being loaded
Whip crack
Hammering of coffin
Creaking of cradle on board floor
Echo-chamber.

*The first few pages of one of Ethel
Park Richardson's radio scripts.*

NOTICE

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CC-175-52

HEART-THROBS OF THE HILLS

"THEY CUT DOWN THE OLD PINE TREE"

WJZ

(6:00 - 6:30 P M)

MARCH 10, 1935

SUNDAY

ANNOUNCER: Heart Throbs of the Hills!

(SINGERS: OPENING SIGNATURE)

ANNOUNCER: A ballad, according to the history of songs, is a tale told in music. Long ago, these musical tales were sung by wandering minstrels in the courts of barons and noble lords. History tells us that they were the first chronicles of happenings and events of the times. If, as they say, history repeats itself, it does so, then, in our southern highlands, for the songs we find there are almost the only records we have of the colorful life in the hills. "They Cut Down the Old Pine Tree" is a modern ballad of mountain origin, patterned after the older ballads that have come down to the mountaineers from early England, Scotland and Ireland.

But let us, now, follow "the trail of the lonesome pine" up to our Little Theatre of the Hills, where our Heart Throb Players and the Frank Luther Trio are ready to bring to life the tragic ballad, "They Cut Down The Old Pine Tree."

SINGERS: Stop awhile and listen to my story
 I've just come down from the hills
 I went there to find my childhood sweetheart
 'Midst the roses and the whippoorwills.

(THEY MUTE AND FADE OUT)

ELLEN, WILLY, ELVINEY AND ABBIE (AS YOUTHFUL AS POSSIBLE)
 Ring around a rosy!
 Pocket full o' posy!
 (ALL HUM AS THEY CIRCLE IN THE GAME)

ELVINEY: Aw! Willy's dropped the hanky back of Ellen agin!
 (ALL LAUGH TEASINGLY)

ABBIE: You got to kiss Ellen, Willy!

ELLEN: Nughuh!

ABBIE: You better run away, then!

ELLEN: You cayn't kiss me (FADES) less'n you kin ketch me!

WILLY: (FADES) I'll ketch ye, then!

ABBIE: (SHOUTS) Willy's sweet on Ellen! Willy's sparkin' Ellen!

ELVINEY: (WOEFULLY) An' I war allus a-hopin' he'd take to me!

ABBIE: But he didn't! He's took out arter Ellen! He's took out arter Ellen!

(A SHORT DEAD PAUSE)

ELLEN: (FADES IN PANTING) Oh! Oh! He didn't ketch me!
 (THEN SOFTLY TO HERSELF) But I ain't a-keerin' ef he does, fer he's - kinda - pleasant mannered!

WILLY: (FADES IN PANTING) Phew! Whu'd you - stop - fer?

ELLEN: (PANTING FOR AN EXCUSE) I got run plumb out! Phew!

WILLY: Wal (LAUGHS NERVOUSLY) - hyar we air!

ELLEN: Yeah (LAUGHS THE SAME WAY) - hyar we air!

WILLY: Would ye slap me ef I kissed ye?

ELLEN: (LAUGHING) I - dunno'f I would er not! You better not try, ef you're afeared o' bein' slapped!

WILLY: Shucks! I'd a sight ruther be slapped by you, fer kissin' you than be hugged by any other gal fer the same offence!

ELLEN: (DELIBERATELY) Wal -

WILLY: (TOO ASHAMED FOR WORDS) Wal -

ELLEN: Maybe I better slap you fust!

WILLY: I dare ye to!

ELLEN: Anybody that'll take a dare'll kill a rabbit an' eat a hare!

(BOTH LAUGH) (THEN A RESOUNDING SLAP RINGS OUT)

WILLY: (ASTONISHED) Ouch!

ELLEN: (FRIGHTENED AT THE VIOLENCE OF THE BLOW) Oh! I - I - didn't aim to slap ye so hard! I - I - (BURSTS OUT CRYING)

WILLY: Don't cry, Ellen, it didn't hurt me a bit!

ELLEN: (TRYING TO STOP CRYING) It did, so, hurt! I hit ye, jist like I war mad at ye! An' now you're mad at me fer doin' it! (SOBS AGAIN)

WILLY: No, I ain't mad at ye, Ellen, - but I'm mighty mad about ye!

ELLEN: (STOPS CRYING TOO SUDDENLY) Air ye, Willy?

WILLY: Hyar. Hold up yore purty face an' le'me kiss away them tears! (KISSES HER EYES) Thar, now, hush a-cryin'!

ELLEN: Eyes warn't made fer kissin', - that's whut lips war made fer!



A mountain cabin belonging to one of Mrs. Richardson's friends

Ethel Park Richardson

The Lure of Mountain Folk Songs

By CATHERINE STEWART PROSSER

FOR years teachers and missionaries have been taking to children of the remote mountain places of the South, songs and stories of the great world outside about which they know so little. Now comes innovation by way of a woman who is bringing to children of the Southern cities the songs of the mountain peoples, words and tunes no one knows how old, as quaint and fascinating as the mountain folk themselves.

And just as interesting in her way is Mrs. Ethel Park Richardson, this exponent of mountain songs and stories which she has hunted out in the mountain country of Tennessee, Virginia, Georgia, and the two Carolinas. Born herself in a mountain town of Tennessee, she has the gift of understanding the silent mountaineer, and that is one reason she has succeeded where others have failed in securing rare bits of verse, a number of which are being compiled for publication this fall by a New York publishing company.

Dr. George Pullen Jackson, professor at Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tennessee, says that Mrs. Richardson in contributing her hook of songs to the public has done what no one has done before for American literature, adding to it precious lines indeed, representative of the purest Anglo-Saxon speech to be found in this country today.

So successful has Mrs. Richardson been the last few months in interesting city audiences in her mountain programs that she is now turning her efforts to a unique undertaking indeed, and is planning a fall festival of mountain songs sung by mountain boys and girls only, in the new million-dollar sailors and soldiers memorial auditorium at Chattanooga, Tennessee. Groups of singers will come from a dozen of the largest mountain schools with Sigmund Spaeth, music authority of New York, who by this way is writing the preface to Mrs. Richardson's book and others widely known musically, as

judges. Southern merchants and publishers are contributing prizes for the event, largely in the nature of hooks, which are so badly needed by many of the mountain school libraries.

"How do I get so much from the mountaineer?" Mrs. Richardson smiles her answer.

"Well, I just go in and romp with the children if necessary. I can eat fat meat and hock with as great a relish as I eat caviar in some New York hotel. And then when the mountaineer is really acquainted with me and has learned that I am no Government agent tapping the hills for a still, he will eventually open up his heart to me and tell me something of his life perhaps and sing me his favorite songs. The 'he' applies to women and children of the mountains as well, who have the same grim, safeguarded lips and eyes of the mountain men."

Mrs. Richardson knows all about New York and its hotels, and that is another reason she is so interesting. She has traveled the country over through city streets and country lanes, poking her car into all sorts of out-of-the-way places, playing gypsy all by herself, cooking and sleeping often by the side of the road, never afraid in her long jaunts which have taken her as far to the Southwest as Houston, Texas, where she lived at one time. Here she directed a private school for boys and reared her three children, two of whom are now students at Columbia University, New York City. For these exploring trips Mrs. Richardson wears a simple tweed suit with a top coat to match and a small felt hat. She does not affect the mannish at all and is

perfectly at ease in an evening gown also or her programs.

The costume is the real thing, too. The gingham



Mrs. Richardson in mountain costume

bonnet was given her by an old mountain woman at Mont Eagle, Tennessee. It is stitched by hand with old-fashioned twine thread, and pasteboard slats are encased in the gingham to hold it stiff about the face. A dear old bonnet indeed, following a style peculiar to the mountains, no one knows how old.

The cotton dress was given to Mrs. Richardson by a mountain woman in the Missouri Ozarks where she spent one summer. The handmade apron, cedar huck, and gourd dipper which she carries with her on the platform are all gifts from friends in the Cumberland Mountains.

"One finds little homespun cloth in the mountains these days," Mrs. Richardson says. "The factory-made stuff can be bought too cheap and its attractive patterns delight the eye of the mountain woman who loves color in spite of her own drab existence. The long hours the women formerly spent in spinning they now spend largely in the small gardens or fields, their horny hands often uprooting the soil with a clumsy hand pick or mattock."

Mrs. Richardson recently visited for a week in the home of Alvin Yorke, famous World War hero, at Jamestown, Tennessee, and was eager to have a dress worn by his mother.

"I will gladly trade you materials for two new dresses if you will be so good as to let me have the one you are wearing," Mrs. Richardson told the elder Mrs. Yorke.

"Mother" Yorke, who liked the friendly young woman, agreed. As soon as Mrs. Richardson returned to Chattanooga she sent materials and trimmings for a pretty challis dress and a printed one. In a few days, however, the bundle was returned with a friendly, apologetic note written in the quaint, stilted language of the mountain people.

Mrs. Yorke explained that when she promised the dress she did not know that it was to be worn on the stage. That neither she nor her son approved of the stags or movies, considering them both great influences of the devil. Therefore she would have to refuse the dress and was returning the material, but she was very, very sorry.

Although Mrs. Richardson was disappointed, of course, she exulted over the letter.

"That is the real mountain spirit," she cried. "And I love it. Think of such beautiful conviction! If more people would stand for what they really believe, as the mountain woman does, wouldn't this be a sure-enough grand old world? And, dear soul, I know she loved those pretty new things she wouldn't keep. Now, one day, in some way, I will try to make her accept them, but I will have to be some persuader."

Not only is Mrs. Richardson visiting cities of the South, putting on programs of mountain songs and

(Continued on page 33)

The Lure of Mountain Folk Songs

(Continued from page 33)

stories for both public and private schools, but she is singing before men's and women's organizations, at parties in private homes, and the mountain songs are now the fashionable thing by way of entertainment in more than one Southern community.

"There is little of what we call 'dirt' in the mountain songs," Mrs. Richardson explains, "but there are some too sophisticated to teach children, as for instance one of my favorites, 'Kerless Love,'" and the woman's black eyes sparkle as she strums away on the queer-looking dulcimer which Sigmund Spaeth says is a very old and valuable instrument. Mrs. Richardson bought it from a mountain girl at Jamestown for five dollars.

KERLESS LOVE

Love, oh love, oh, kerless love,
Love, oh love, oh, kerless love,
See what love has did for me!

Love, oh love, how kin it be?
Love, oh love, how kin it be?
Love a boy what don't love me!

Mamma, mamma, yondah he goes,
Mamma, mamma, yondah he goes,
Brand-new Ford and suit of clothes.

Pass my doah, but he don't look in,
Pass my doah, but he don't look in,
Because my apron goes umh.

Mamma, mamma, don't you cry,
Mamma, mamma, don't you cry,
For we got a way o' gittin' by.

"Sing it again. Sing it again," members of a club audience in Chattanooga requested Mrs. Richardson recently, and she accommodated them, explaining in her clever way that she was singing the song as Gid Tanner of the north Georgia mountains, fiddler and comedian, sings it.

Gid's fame has spread far beyond the confines of his little whitewashed cabin, and he is now making records for a talking-machine company. When he sings the woman's part in a song he pitches it to a high, quavering falsetto which adds amusement, and Mrs. Richardson can imitate him to perfection.

Gid is really one of the funniest men the Lord ever made, but "dern perculysr," as his neighbors say.

Mrs. Richardson won Gid's friendship over a dip of snuff.

"Oh, I had to do it. There's real manners, you know, among mountain folk about refusing snuff, so I dipped a good one while I was doing it, although I sneezed for two days afterwards."

And then to further cement the friendship, Gid proposed that he and Mrs. Richardson sing together, which they did, the former sawing away on the fiddle, eyes closed, feet tapping the floor all the while.

A short time after Mrs. Richardson and Gid dipped snuff and sang songs in such friendly manner, Mrs. Richardson wrote to him she wanted to come down with a friend to get a story about him. Mrs. Gid answered the letter.

"I don't want no magazine writ about Gid, so there ain't no use in your comin'."

"And so I don't go for a while at least," Mrs. Richardson says. "I wouldn't win the enmity of any of my mountain friends for anything in the world. If Gid's woman doesn't want me, I stay away."

Absolute respect for their wishes and rights is one way in which Mrs. Richardson has made friends as staunch as the mountains themselves among her acquaintances, not only in the Cumberland, that lift their blue haze-covered heads from Virginia into Georgia, but in parts of the Blue Ridge Mountains of Vir-

ginia as well, and in remote spots of the Smokies of the two Carolinas.

One song Mrs. Richardson secured through her Carolina friends has a unique history. It seems that some years ago a handsome mountaineer, one Peter de Graph by name, was sentenced to hang for the murder of one Ellen Smith, his betrothed. This murder was a gruesome affair and Peter was finally lodged in jail at Mt. Airy, North Carolina, while feeling for and against him ran like fire through the mountain.

Just a short time before he was to mount the scaffold Peter asked for his guitar and composed a song which the mountain folk call "The Ellen Smith Ballet" (meaning ballad). So bitter were expressions and feeling concerning the murder and subsequent hanging that for a long time, according to old residents of the mountain town, the song was forbidden by law to be sung at any public gathering, as it generally fomented a fight or killing.

THE ELLEN SMITH BALLET

Come all ye people my story to hear,
What happened to me in June of last year,
It's of poor Ellen Smith, and how she was found,
A ball through her heart lying cold on the ground.

It's true I'm in jail, a prisoner now,
But God is here with me and hears every vow,
Before Him I promise the truth to relate,
And tell all I know of poor Ellen's fate.

The world of my story is no longer a part,
And knows I was Ellen's own loving sweetheart,
They know my intention to make her my wife,
I loved her too dearly to take her sweet life.

I saw her on Monday before that sad day,
They found her poor body and carried her away,
That she had been killed never entered my mind,
Until a ball through her heart they happened to find.

Oh, who was so cruel so heartless, so base,
As to murder poor Ellen in such a lone some place?
I saw her that morning so still and so cold,
And heard the wild stories the witnesses told.

I choked back the tears, for the people all said,
That Peter de Graph had shot Ellen Smith dead,
Half crazed with sorrow I wandered away,
And lonely I wandered for many a day.
They got their Winchester and hunted me down,
But I was away from Mt. Airy town,
My love in her grave with her hands on her breast,
While the sheriff and bloodhounds gave me no rest.

I stayed off a year and I prayed all the time,
That the men might be found who committed the crime,
But I came back to Winston my trial to stand,
To live or to die as the law might command.

Ellen sleeps calmly in the lonely churchyard,
While I look through the bars—God knows it is hard,
I know they will hang me, at least if they can,
But I know I will die as an innocent man.

My soul will be free when I stand at the bar,
There God tries His cross—then there like a star,
That shines in the night, will an innocent shine,
Oh, I do appeal to the Justice of Time.

This song, according to Mrs. Richardson, is the most modern one she sings. Like the songs of all folk people, the mountain melodies are simple in tune pattern. Most of them finding their pitch near the middle of the keyboard and seldom ranging five notes within the octave.

"What did I get that song?" a mountaineer will reply in answer to your question.

"Wal, my gran'mamma sang it

(Continued on page 69)

The Lure of Mountain Folk Songs

(Continued from page 33)

to us kids and she says her granny said it was as old as the mountain themselves. Can you figure that up?"

Some of the rare old verses Mrs. Richardson has collected bit by bit. Sometimes the original has been changed by a group of mountain folk moving from one community to another. Songs, as the persons themselves, in new environment seem susceptible to change. Verse will be added and it will take much industrious searching and piecing together to finally lay hold of the original, for folk songs of all kinds are elusive things.

"The collecting of folk songs is just like the piecing together of some bit of statuary or sculpturing that one has spent ages digging up. Many a disappointment one encounters in working out the whole, but what a thrill when at last it is complete, a very precious bit of completeness at that."

Asked to name the favorite ballad of her mountain acquaintances, Mrs. Richardson says unhesitatingly, "The Rosewood Casket." The popularity of this ballad has spread beyond the mountains and is used by a phonograph company and also by some vaudeville entertainers.

"The mountain boys and girls love the song and I have found it a favorite with city children. How alike these children are, after all, although it is a far cry indeed from some of the luxurious surroundings and splendid schools of the city children to the bare homes and meagerly equipped schools of the mountain children.

"The song of 'The Rosewood Casket' is hauntingly sweet when sung by the young mountain girls or women. Their voices are often remarkably high and clear, some of them singing easily to high C before years of toll, hardships, and exposure mar them. While this melody is typical of the mountaineer in his melancholy moods, he is not always thus. Some of his songs he will sing with an almost rowdy abandon, and a spirit of fun that is infectious. Some of his songs fairly chuckle through the lines and the mountaineer is a great hand to joke himself, his poverty, hard luck, or ignorance in the lines he improvises.

"The motif of romantic love is lacking entirely from most mountain music, as the mountaineer is shy on the subject. Once married, however, his love is a real and beautiful thing, but he does not want to proclaim it from the housetops.

"There is no sobbing nor wailing as he sings 'The Rosewood Casket,' but he injects a plainness and whimsy into it that suggests melody a-plenty."

THE ROSEWOOD CASKET

In a little rosewood casket that is reeking by my hand,
Is a package of old letters written by a lover's hand.

Will you go and get them, sister, will you read them o'er to me?
For oftentimes I've tried to read them, but for tears I could not see.

Read each precious line so slowly that you will not miss a one,
For the precious hand that wrote them, his last word to me is done.

You have got them now, dear sister, come and sit beside my bed,
And press gently to your bosom this poor, throbbing, aching head.

Tell him that I never blamed him, though to me he proved untrue,
Tell him that I'll never forget him till I bid this world adieu.

Tell him that I never blamed him; not an unkind word was spoke,
Tell, oh, tell him, sister, tell him, that my heart in coldness broke.

When I'm dead and in my coffin, and my shroud around me fold,

And my narrow grave is ready in some pleasant churchyard grove,

Place his letters and his locket all together on my heart,
And the little ring he gave me, never from my finger part.

You have finished now, dear sister, will you read them o'er again?
While I listen to you read them, I will lose all sign of pain.

While I listen to you read them, I will gently fall asleep,
To wake again with Jesus—darling sister, do not weep.

"One seldom hears the mountaineers singing in groups within the home," says Mrs. Richardson. "One by one, old and young members of a family have sung for me, but each one has his turn, the others listening attentively. Happy indeed is the boy or girl who has a musical instrument of any kind to twang away upon. The old-time organ, a small affair sometimes used in religious revival services is popular, too. It is often found in mountain homes lacking carpets and other furnishings.

"Twilight is the mountaineer's song time. The glorious sunrise doesn't seem to inspire him to sing, and his whistles little as he works in the field. But when the family is sitting around after supper, waiting to light up the old oil lamps or press the switch that floods the cabin with artificial light, singing of some kind is the order of the day. A certain system of electric lighting has been carried by some aggressive agents into many remote mountain districts and, as the organ, is found in many homes that feature no other conveniences."

In relating her stories of mountain folk, Mrs. Richardson tells a little of her own life, which explains why she likes the open road so well, and best of all a strange road, and why she chooses to spend part of her time among the mountain folk.

"I was born in the little town of Decherd, Tennessee, where one large mountain seemed to shut us off completely from the world beyond. When I was small, I would spend hours dreaming about what might be on the other side of this great mass of green trees and blue shadows which towered heavenward.

"My family and old negro mammy were deeply religious. Old mammy insisted if I prayed hard enough that 'Old Blue,' as we called the mountain, might be carried off during the night.

"Many a morning I have scampered from my bed to see if 'Old Blue' was still there, and of course it always was. I grew skeptical about the results of my prayers, but I never ceased to wonder what lay beyond the mountain. My father was telegraph operator and ticket agent for the little town, and I would not let him rest until he taught me the Morse code and how to send and receive messages from that mysterious world beyond 'Old Blue' which I longed to see.

"When a little girl of twelve, I was taken to school at Chattanooga, you can imagine how I felt. 'Old Blue' was not removed, but I had crossed it.

"I lived in a dream for days in that big, new world. It has been that way ever since. It seems I can never get enough of hunting for new things and places and investigating them after they are found. And yet—I am really happiest I know when after all my roaming round, I crawl up to some out-of-the-way mountain place and enjoy a few days of simple, quiet, primitive living with some of my mountain friends."

MONTANA SLIM: CANADA'S LEGENDARY WILF CARTER

By Jay Taylor

[The author teaches science at Wingate College in Wingate, North Carolina. A fan of C&W music for many years, he has spent the past nine years actively studying and collecting it, and interviewing some of the older artists. He is a native of Huntingdon, Pa.]

Someone I know told of standing on a street corner in Europe and asking a passerby to translate the sign on a factory across the way. "Antiques manufactured here," came the reply. As with the antiques, legendary musical figures come in both the "real" and the "manufactured here" variety. One of the real legends of country and western music, as well as one of the finest country voices of all time is the old Yodeling Cowboy, Montana Slim, Canada's legendary Wilf Carter.

Hank Snow, speaking on the hour-long Canadian Broadcasting Corporation special, "The Wilf Carter Story," had the following to say:

They speak of legends in your time and superstars. The words don't fit in a lot of cases. Speaking of legends, and meaning it, should refer to people like Wilf Carter, Gene Autry, Roy Rogers, and the Sons of the Pioneers.

Wilf Carter -- singer, songwriter, yodeler, former rodeo performer, rancher, hobo, lumberjack, construction worker, and former motel owner -- came into this world on 18 December 1904, in a little town of Port Hilford, Nova Scotia, Canada. As a child, he, and his brothers and sisters, sang in the choir at their father's Baptist church. At the age of nine, he was profoundly inspired by a yodeler who appeared as an "added attraction" at a performance of "Uncle Tom's Cabin." Out of the determination to yodel generated in young Wilf by that performance, came his unique "three-in-one," or "echo" yodel, which has been widely imitated by other yodelers ever since.

After several years of schoolhouse dances, "pass-the-hat" performances, and intermission appearances at theaters in and around Calgary, Alberta, he finally made his debut on radio in 1929. Perhaps there is a bit of subsequent irony in the fact that this first radio appearance was in the United States, over Station KGY, "The Oregonian," in Portland, Oregon. From there he made his way back to Calgary where he got a job on a local radio station and finally wound up on the old Canadian Radio Commission (forerunner of today's Canadian Broadcasting Corporation) with a network radio program for which he was paid all of \$18 per week. From there he attracted the attention of Mr. Pat Brewster, of the Brewster Transport in Banff, Alberta, who arranged for him to join the Trail Riders of the Canadian Pacific Railroad. For several years, he accompanied the Trail Riders on

their summer packing trips into the Canadian Rockies.

It was when the Canadian Pacific booked passage for him on their cruise ship, *Empress of Britain*, on her maiden voyage to the West Indies, in 1932, that Wilf Carter decided to drop by Montreal for an audition with the RCA Victor Company. He told me, in 1974, that it was supposed to have been just an audition, but unknown to the Artist and Repertoire Man, Mr. Hugh Joseph, the sound engineers had cued up a master disc and, as he sang and yodeled his "My Swiss Moonlight Lullaby" and "The Capture of Albert Johnson" (the "mad trapper"), they recorded his "audition." Upon his return from the West Indies cruise, and having bummed a dime to make the call, he phoned RCA and was told that they wanted to release the recording. After working out the necessary financial details, the record was released. It caught on like wildfire; Wilf Carter was on his way.

In 1934, through a contact he had made on one of the Trail Rides, Wilf was invited to New York City where he eventually wound up with his own network radio show over the Columbia Broadcasting System. The "Yodeling Cowboy" caught on so well with his American listeners that he was eventually on 250 stations and short wave, and was drawing over 10,000 letters per week, and had achieved "Number One" status with the network.

Somewhere about this time, a secretary who had typed the lyrics for his "Cowboy's High Toned Dance," bestowed upon him his name, "Montana Slim." CBS liked it and told him to keep the name. Thereafter, on his American recordings, he became known as Montana Slim.

While in New York City he decided to terminate his bachelorhood, and married a nurse by the name of Bonnie Bryant, to whom, forty years later, he is still married. In 1940, for reasons that this writer does not fully understand, Wilf decided to take a two-month leave of absence from CBS and go back to a ranch he had purchased near Calgary, Alberta. Somewhere near Shelby, Montana, a head-on auto crash extended the two-month "leave" to a nine-year absence.

During this period the Carters remained on the ranch, raised beef cattle for the war effort, and became the parents of two daughters, Sheila and Carol. By the end of World War II Wilf realized that he had "beaten the 'Dark Angel'"



Wilf Carter alone (upper left) and with the author (upper right) at Carter's Florida home, December 1974. Below, Carter riding in the Calgary Stampede Parade on his horse, Blaze, July 1975. Photos courtesy of the author.

and in 1949 he went back on the road, this time accompanied by his wife and daughters as part of "The Family Show With the Folks You Know."

But things had changed in those nine years. Television had taken over and there were no more 15-minute network radio shows awaiting him. Also, there are stories of other performers using the name "Montana Slim," of lawsuits to gain it back and to prove that he was, in truth, the original Wilf Carter and Montana Slim; and of banning the use of his records on a radio station owned by one of the fellows who had been using his name.

While he was able to make something of a come-back in the United States during the 1950s, he never did quite regain the pinnacle of popularity here that he had enjoyed in the 1930s on CBS. But while the period from 1934 to 1940 may represent his peak period of popularity here, his awards, accomplishments, and popularity elsewhere are by no means limited to this period.

I have already mentioned his legendary status in his native Canada, where at any one time he has from twenty to thirty albums currently available. "The Wilf Carter Story," the unrehearsed, hour-long TV special on his life, has been shown at least three times on the CBS network in Canada. He makes an annual appearance on "The Tommy Hunter Show," a Canadian network country music show. (Tommy Hunter's determination to become a country music star has its roots firmly planted in his admiration for the career and talents of Wilf Carter.) He has done an hour-long TV special with fellow Nova Scotian, Hank Snow, as well as numerous appearances on other Canadian TV and radio shows. In an early 1976 appearance on the "Tommy Hunter Show," he was presented a plaque by RCA Victor commemorating his forty-three years with RCA.

Ironically, with all the Canadian TV coverage, he has never been on television here in the United States. Not that he wouldn't like to be, he told me, but he refuses to compromise his convictions and principles just for the sake of exposure. He told me how amazed he was during what was apparently his last major performing tour in the United States (with Charley Pride in the late 1960s) at the enthusiastic response he got from the American people. It was made all the more remarkable, he felt, by his total lack of TV coverage and the fact that his records are all but impossible to find, and seldom, if ever, played in the U. S.

Several major awards came Wilf Carter's way during the 1960s and 70s. He is a life member of the Cowboy Heritage Hall of Fame in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. "Record-cowboy-of-the-year" type awards came during the 70s from Scotland and Germany. In 1972 he was made a member of the Nashville Songwriters Association Hall of Fame, and was to have received his "Manny" denoting membership, in October 1976, in Nashville.

Wilf Carter has written and recorded literally hundreds of songs over his long and colorful career, and a list of his "best" or "greatest" could get rather long. Understandably, many of his songs

deal with western themes such as "A Cowboy's Best Friend is His Pony," "Roundup in the Fall," "Call of the Range," "Covered Wagons Headin' West," "I'm Hittin' the Trail," "There's a Love Knot in My Lariat," and the poetically beautiful "'Neath a Blanket of Stars."

Since yodeling is so much his stock in trade, there are many yodel songs: "My Swiss Moonlight Lullaby" (one of the two songs he sang on his one and only appearance on the Grand Ole Opry in 1949), "Lover's Lullaby Yodel," "Yodeling Trail Rider," "Down the Yodeling Trail at Twilight," "Yodeling Hillbilly," and "Streamlined Yodel Song." There is even a song among his Decca recordings (now MCA, of course) titled simply, "The Yodelin' Song" which is, to say the least, different!

"There's a pretty little gal down in
Texas state
Always ridin' 'round in my Cadillac eight
Singin' and yodelin' as she rides along
To a rock 'n roll yodelin' song.

A rock 'n roll yodelin' song
A-sing to the music as we ride along
A-one and a-two and a-rock 'n a-roll
And the yodelin' and the singin',
mighty good for your soul
C'mon little honey, don't you be late
We'll rock 'n roll yodel in my Cadillac
eight.

A bright yellow moon, a-hummin' a tune
To the rock 'n roll yodelin' song."¹

Among other departures from his usual themes in the rather famous "The Life and Death of John Dillinger," which starts out with a curly-headed boy in a home in Indiana and ends up as below.

"It happened in Chicago, that's noted
for its fame
The home of noted gangsters, where many
a man is slain.
He was taking in a picture when a woman
tipped the law
Three bullets pierced his body. He had
not a chance to draw.

"The great manhunt is ended, the innocent
must pay
When they have to stop the bullets that
chance to go astray.
So young men, take my warning. This
crime, it does not pay.
And think of Johnny Dillinger, when he
met his fatal day."²

And then, there's "The Hindenburg Disaster."

"But Fate, it seemed, must play its hand.
Right then we don't know why,
There was a sudden burst of flame
Explosion followed nigh.
The Hindenburg, a mass of flames,
They billowed, leaping high
A deaf'ning roar, the silver mass,
Came crashing from the sky.

.....

"What caused this great disaster

That shocked the whole wide world?
Another mystery of mankind,
That keeps us in a whirl."³

One of the most notable things about Wilf Carter is his cheerful, optimistic outlook, which he maintains to this very day. Elizabeth Clarke's "There's A Bluebird On Your Windowsill" (reworked and recorded by Wilf Carter, with copyright royalties going to the children's ward in the hospital where Ms. Clarke was working as a nurse when she wrote the song) depicts well this cheerful optimism. Also one of Wilf's latest songs, recorded in June 1976, and as yet unreleased at the time of this writing, is a good representative of this type of song.

"I strolled into a small cafe to put the
nosebag on
A jukebox in the corner playing a good ol'
country song
As I walked up to pay my check I heard a
smiling waitress say
'You can't go wrong with a country song,
so have a nice day.'

(Chorus)

"Have a nice day as you go on your way.
Paint the clouds with sunshine then you'll
hear people say
'You're just a ray of sunshine, you've
really made my day!'
As you travel down life's highway, have
a nice day.
Have a nice day! Oh, have a nice day.
Have a nice day.
Never let your sunshine ever turn to grey.
If you're ever sad and lonely, remember
what I say,
'Turn your clouds to sunshine. Have a
nice day!'"⁴

Based, he says, on his Baptist upbringing, Wilf Carter has some very definite ideas concerning "right and wrong" and about how things ought to be. He steadfastly refuses to rehearse, to use cue cards, or to be "directed." (Even though the latter brought his early efforts at a movie career to a premature end!) When he is recording a song, he does it in just one "take." He says he was once told he was "too stupid" to ever learn to play the guitar, so he sat down and learned his own, somewhat unconventional, method. He is very proud of the fact that he has never accepted nor paid a bribe, nor participated in any form of "payola."

Commenting on his life and career in a taped interview in December 1974, he had the following to tell me:

I say, and I'm not prejudiced in any way, I've had a great career. When they tell me I'm too old to do this or that -- that Carter's 'over the hill,' or Montana Slim's 'over the hill,' he's had it -- I look out, and the sun's quite a ways from going down as far as I can see. The American people and the people all across this world have been so good to me.

"I've loved my career. The people made me. The people stuck by me. I never ever thought I had a voice, only what the good Lord gave me. I used to holler and yell at the rodeos and when I was out in the canyons hunting horses and up in the mountains with the Trail Riders, and standing on a disc plow or a disc harrow, singing and yodeling and seeming I could hear the people encoring me on. Those were dreams! People used to think I was crazy and wish I'd shut up when I'd be on the wagons and sleighs in the mornings with 150 bushels of grain on six head of horses, tearin' down the trails (no roads, just trails) singin' and yodelin' at 4 o'clock in the morning. I used to come twelve miles into Carbon, Alberta, to deliver grain at 8 o'clock in the morning. I used to think I was crazy, too, but everybody can't be sane. And it didn't work out too bad!

"Whether they call it 'hillbilly' or 'country' or 'country and western' music, it is the traditional music of our country. It tells about our heritage and tradition, and of our people. I really think if you're dedicated to something you're in, you ought to stick with it and stick up for it. Nobody could change me, or my style, with a pipe pole. If you don't know what that is, it's a pipe with a long brad in the end of it, used for moving logs."

This "stick-to-your-convictions" theme comes through loud and clear in many aspects of the Wilf Carter story. We hear so much today of country artists (the so-called "outlaws") insisting on their right to do things they want to, in the way they want to. Wilf Carter, or Montana Slim, has been doing things that way for over forty years!

FOOTNOTES

- 1 Copyright (year not known), Copar Music (BMI).
- 2 Wilf Carter. Copyright 1934 by Gordon V. Thompson, Limited, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.
- 3 Copyright information not available.

The Jake Walk Blues

A Toxicologic Tragedy Mirrored in American Popular Music

JOHN P. MORGAN, M.D.; and THOMAS C. TULLOSS, M.A.; Rochester, New York; and
College Park, Maryland

In 1930 thousands of cases of muscle pain, weakness of upper and lower extremities, and minimal sensory impairment occurred in the United States. The illness was caused by the consumption of an adulterated Jamaica ginger extract ("Jake"), an illicit beverage then popularly used in the southern and midwestern United States to circumvent prohibition statutes. The additive tri-ortho-cresyl phosphate caused severe, only partially reversible damage to the spinal cord and peripheral nervous tissue. Victims with resultant gait impairment, sometimes permanent, were said to have the "Jake Leg" or "Jake Walk." Twelve commercial phonographic recordings made between 1928 and 1934 by southern rural artists, white and black, refer to Jake or Jake-induced infirmity. These reveal preepidemic cultural familiarity with Jake, and the later, postepidemic performances reflect a whimsical, even cynical, cultural attitude that those with "Jake Leg" were suffering the wages of sin and should not be regarded as objects of pity or sympathy.

IN FEBRUARY 1930 newspaper reports began describing the appearance of a strange and dramatic paralytic illness distributed widely in the southern and midwestern United States. By the spring of 1930 the illness reached epidemic proportions. Four hundred patients with some combination of muscular pain, weakness of both upper and lower extremities, and relatively minimal sensory findings were admitted to the Cincinnati General Hospital in a period of 6 months in 1930 (1).

The preparation of a medical journal report in June 1930 entitled "The 1930 Type of Polyneuritis" (2) apparently preceded any identification of the cause. However, by March 1930 clinicians in Oklahoma (3) had described the association of the illness with the consumption of Jamaica ginger extract (otherwise known as "Jake").

This association was subsequently noted in many de-

scriptions, and the illness became known as the "Jamaica Ginger Paralysis," the "Jake Paralysis," or the "Jake Leg Paralysis" (4-6). In reality the nervous system damage was more extensive than "polyneuritis" and included spinal cord damage and permanent spasticity in some cases (1). The gait impairment, permanent in some, was called the "Jake Walk."

The illness occurred principally in the southeast, south of the Mason-Dixon line, and east of and including Oklahoma, Missouri, Arkansas, and Texas (7). Many cases were noted in southern and central Ohio (1) and in southeastern Kansas (8). A few cases were described later in New York state (9) and California (10).

Many patients themselves had related the illness to the consumption of an extract of Jamaica Ginger, but they and their physicians were initially confused because that beverage had been popularly consumed without harm (other than inebriety) by these victims and others for many years.

American Use of Jamaica Ginger Extract

An alcoholic extract of ginger had been available in the United States as "medicine" since 1863. *The Baltimore Sun* carried reports of its use as an intoxicant in articles published at the turn of the century (4). The popularity of Jake as alcohol developed in the South and remained centered in that area, where many states were "dry" even before the federal prohibition statutes. At the outset of prohibition, the manufacture and sale of the usual tincture was prohibited, and only U.S.P. fluid extract (Jamaica Ginger Extract U.S.P.) was legally marketable. It was classed as nonpotable liquid by the Prohibition Bureau and was sold in drug stores as a carminative, a headache remedy, and a general aid to digestion. Valaer (11) stated that the U.S.P. fluid extract was indeed nonpotable, being so pungent as to require extensive dilution of the ginger taste and the kick.

After the Prohibition Bureau's decision to allow the sale of official U.S.P. fluid extract, many illicit brands of Jamaica Ginger appeared. These had a 60% to 80% alcohol concentration and contained the same solid weight content but smaller amounts of the ginger oleoresin for flavoring

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than the U.S.P. variety. These less pungent extracts were popularly consumed as beverages. They were highly adulterated and contained such ingredients as molasses, glycine, sages, herb extracts, gums, pin resins, castor oil, and other additives. Although intoxicating, they caused no other illness. There was more potential for intoxication in the 2-ounce bottles than in a drink of whiskey sold over the bar before prohibition. One could supposedly walk into the drug store, purchase the Jake, mix it handily at the soda fountain with a preferred soft drink, and imbibe. The price, at 35¢ per bottle, was obviously right. Apparently many retailers other than drug stores also carried the product (4).

Tri-Ortho-Cresyl Phosphate

The confusion that arose because of the benign history of this beverage was resolved by Drs. Smith and Elvove in the same year as the occurrence of the epidemic (12, 13). They discovered that a particular additive, tri-ortho-cresyl phosphate, appeared in recent samples of Jamaica ginger associated with the illness, and that this adulterant was capable of producing a similar paralytic illness in animal species, including chickens and calves. This animal work was necessary. As early as March 1930, the tri-ortho-cresyl phosphate was shown to be present at a 2% concentration in adulterated Jake, but it was not known to be a cause of central nervous system damage. Smith and Elvove used calves at the suggestion of a midwestern country veterinarian who had inadvertently paralyzed cattle by dosing them with poisonous Jake for some bovine ailment (3).

Tri-ortho-cresyl phosphate was and is widely used in commercial organic chemistry as a liquid plasticizer and is valuable in glues and fuels because of its heat resistance. Valaer (11) suspected that it was used as a substitute for the oleoresin of ginger in the particular batch that produced clinical toxicity. It is soluble in alcohol and miscible with the true oleoresin. It was also very cheap, selling at 30¢ per gallon, and was apparently used to enable the seller to undercut competitors, who were using castor oil adulterated Jake. This decision resulted in the reported paralysis of 4837 Americans. In the opinion of the Director of the Prohibition Bureau, however, 20 000 cases probably occurred (14), and one author estimates the actual total at 60 000 (7).

Distribution Of The Jake Leg And Characteristics Of The Victims

The poisonous material was shipped for distribution in late February and appeared under a bewildering variety of brand names (including Archer, Peer, Loyal, K.D., B & L, Fuller, Tommac, Peco, and Queen City). There were eight separate brands found in Cincinnati alone (15).

The distribution of the illness was uneven. Some small areas were hard hit. Harris reported eight cases from a town in southern Alabama. The total population of that community, which was situated 25 miles from the nearest railroad or bus line, was 100 (16). Six cases occurred in Ripley, Ohio (15) and eight occurred in Johnson City, Tennessee (17). An impressive racial, social, and economic homogeneity of the described victims emerged and

was confirmed by a careful epidemiologic study by LeBlanc (in Kiely and Rich's paper [18]). Most victims were white men of the working blue-collar class (LeBlanc calls them "low in earning power"). The mean age was 47.8 years. Of his 117 cases, 11 were women and one man was black. LeBlanc also noted that the greatest number of victims in Cincinnati lived in rented rooms within 1 mile of downtown Government Square, and a surprising number lived alone. A safe interpretation of these data would be that many of these men were depression era, southeastern, rural migrants to Cincinnati whose relatives, if they had any, were left behind. Cincinnati was and is an important entrance to the industrial North for men leaving unprofitable farm and mining jobs in the southeast. Eighty-one of 117 informants also gave a history of the use of "moonshine."

The reported incidence in black Americans was very low. There was some speculation that it was too expensive for the poorest and that blacks who drank illicitly preferred moonshine or home brew. Biologically oriented speculators cited an animal study in which dark chickens did not develop central nervous system damage after dosing with tri-ortho-cresyl phosphate while white ones equivalently dosed did. A pigmented skin was thought to be protective (3). However later case reports did cite blacks and American Indians as well (7).

Black consumers of the Jake, including those poisoned, may simply have been missed in accounts because hospitals where they might have been counted were closed to them, whatever their illness.

On 1 June 1930 *The New York Times* reported that 21 men, 18 from New York City and three from Kansas, and six New York corporations had been indicted in connection with the epidemic for conspiracy to violate federal laws (14).

Popular Songs Related To Jake

Commercial recording of rural southern artists (black and white) began in the 1920s (19, 20). The artists recorded may be described as folk artists in motion toward commercial values both because of their own desires and the wishes of record company executives. Such folk musicians occasionally produced music explicitly related to current social and cultural forces. Between 1928 and 1934 12 performances mentioning Jake were recorded, divided nearly equally between white and black musicians (see Table 1). One of these recordings clearly preceded the epidemic.

Lemuel Turner, a white artist, recorded the "Jake Bottle Blues" on 9 February 1928. An instrumental, it featured a guitar solo played Hawaiian style. This style requires that some hard object (a bottle neck or a steel bar) be placed against the strings of the guitar and slid back and forth for the desired pitch. This method is sometimes called "slide guitar." It was occasionally the practice to use a small bottle half-filled with water as a slide to produce a particular wavering sound. It is possible that this is what Turner did, and he may have chosen a 2-ounce Jake bottle, or he may merely have wished to identify a source of his blues. Either way, he presumably

Table 1. Jake Performances

	Title	Recording Date and Site	Company and Issue Number	Collector, Archival, or Reissue Source*
White (hillbilly) artists				
Lemuel Turner	"Jake Bottle Blues" (instrumental)	2/9/28, Memphis, Tennessee	Victor V-40052	R: <i>Hula Blues</i> (Rounder, RD 1012)
Allen Brothers	"Jake Walk Blues"	5/5/30, Memphis, Tennessee	Victor V-40303	R: The Allen Brothers (Folk Variety, FV 12501) The Chattanooga Boys (Old Timey OT 115)
Ray Brothers	"Jake Leg Wobble" (instrumental)	5/28/30, Memphis, Tennessee	Victor V-40291	R: <i>Mississippi Breakdown: Traditional Fiddle Music of Mississippi</i> , Vol. I (County CTY 528)
Byrd Moore	"Jake Legs Blues"	9/27/30, Richmond, Indiana	Gennett 17091	C: Joseph E. Bussard, Jr. A: John Edwards Memorial Foundation
Ray Brothers	"Got The Jake Leg Too"	11/21/30, Memphis, Tennessee	Victor 23508	C: Joseph E. Bussard, Jr. A: John Edwards Memorial Foundation
Narmour and Smith	"Jake Leg Rag" (instrumental)	6/6/30, San Antonio, Texas	Okeh 45469	C: Joseph E. Bussard, Jr.
Asa Martin	"Jake Walk Papa"	4/5/33, Richmond, Indiana	Champion 16627	Unavailable
Black (blues) artists				
Tommy Johnson	"Alcohol And Jake Blues"	3/?/30, Grafton, Wisconsin	Paramount 12950	Unavailable
Ishman Bracey	"Jake Liquor Blues"	3/?/30, Grafton, Wisconsin	Paramount 12941	C: Joseph E. Bussard, Jr.
Mississippi Sheiks	"Jake Leg Blues"	6/11/30, San Antonio, Texas	Okeh 8939	C: Joseph E. Bussard, Jr.
Daddy Stovepipe and Mississippi Sarah	"Jake Leg Blues"	6/?/30, Chicago, Illinois	Vocalion 1676	Unavailable
Willie Lofton	"Jake Leg Blues"	9/24/34, Chicago, Illinois	Decca 7076	C: Joseph E. Bussard, Jr.

* C = collector; A = archival; R = reissue. Reissue LPs may be obtained from Roundhouse Records (Box 474, Somerville, MA 02144); J & F Southern Record Sales (4501 Risinghill Road, Altadena, CA 91001); or County Sales (Box 191, Floyd, VA 24091). Collector and archival sources will provide a taped copy at reasonable cost and can be contacted at the following addresses: Joseph E. Bussard, Jr. (Route 7, Box 662, Cherry Hill Drive, Frederick, MD 21701); and The John Edwards Memorial Foundation (Folklore and Mythology Center, The University of California, Los Angeles, CA 90024).

felt that a number of listeners would understand and identify with the title, which reflects popular familiarity with the use of Jake at that time as well as any other data.

Tommy Johnson and Ishman Bracey were friends, and both were from central Mississippi near Jackson. Their two Jake performances were recorded in Grafton, Wisconsin, where Paramount Records operated a studio. Both performances, "Alcohol And Jake Blues" and "Jake Liquor Blues," were backed by the New Orleans Nehi Boys, leading one to believe that they resulted from the same recording session in early 1930 (21). Blues scholars have been uncertain of the exact date of these important sessions. Johnson is highly acclaimed as an influential performer (22). Unfortunately "Alcohol And Jake Blues" has never been found—it may never have been released. Bracey's performance, which is available, unquestionably relates to Jake-induced illness and states:

If you don't quit drinkin' that poison Jake you're
drinkin'
It's gonna leave you with the limber leg.

This recording occurred no later than March 1930 and was, perhaps with Johnson's, the first song to reflect the illness caused by the Jake; this casts further doubt on the theory that Jake was little known in the black community.

The remaining performances all mention Jake-induced infirmity (Jake Walk or Jake Leg) and were inspired by the tragedy. All of the three remaining black recordings

were called "Jake Leg Blues." Like Bracey, the Mississippi Sheiks (The Chatman Brothers and Walter Vincson) and "Poor Boy" Willie Lofton were from the Jackson, Mississippi, area and moved in the circle and influence of Tommy Johnson (22). Daddy Stovepipe (Johnny Watson) was from Mobile, Alabama, but was known to travel in Mississippi, the home (and *nom de theatre* source) of his wife Sarah (23).

The "Jake Walk Blues" and "Got The Jake Leg Too" were recorded by white artists in Memphis, Tennessee, (as was Turner's instrumental) in the year of the tragedy. The Allen Brothers ("Jake Walk Blues") were from Chattanooga. The 300 reported cases in Tennessee centered in eastern Tennessee (17), and this song, composed by Austin Allen, was the first performance inspired by the epidemic to be widely distributed. The song was a hit, selling 20 000 to 25 000 copies in the next few years, and contributed much to the Allen Brothers' popularity (24).

The Ray Brothers ("Got The Jake Leg Too") were from Winona, Mississippi, and, like the black artists, were probably aware of the many cases of poisoning in that state (25). Their popularity did not approach that of the Allen Brothers. "Got The Jake Leg Too" is distinctly different from the "Jake Walk Blues" but may have been inspired by the previously successful recording as well as the historical tragedy.

"The Jake Legs Blues" by Byrd Moore is also a different song and was recorded later in the epidemic year at the Starr Piano Company's studio in Richmond, Indiana. Moore was a white Virginian (26). Asa Martin, a white Kentuckian, was a prolific recording artist with many co-players. He recorded "Jake Walk Papa" in 1933 for the Starr Piano Company (it was issued on the Champion label). Starr also owned the Gennett label, which issued Byrd Moore's recording (27). The last two songs on the list are instrumentals by the Ray Brothers and by Narmour and Smith, also white Mississippi artists.

Narmour and Smith were known to associate with black musicians. The Mississippi Sheiks recorded "Jake Leg Blues" less than a week after Narmour and Smith's "Jake Leg Rag" in the same studio. If there was any interchange it is not reflected in the two songs.

All of the above performances were in the blues format. Even those not strictly in the 12-bar, tonic-subdominant-dominant chord format generally used the personal setting and the dramatic monologue of the blues. Blues recordings by early white hillbilly artists were relatively common, and the Allen Brothers were, for a time, even listed in the "race" series of Columbia performers (24). The Allen Brothers and the Ray Brothers were cynical and whimsical about the tragedy. The Allen Brothers seemingly accepted the inevitability of the Jake Walk for a hard-drinking, hard-living man:

My daddy was a gambler, and a drunkard too,
If he was living today, he'd have the Jake Walk too.
When I die, you can have my hand,
Gonna take a bottle of Jake to the promised land.

The Ray Brothers were more explicit in condemning the Jake:

Boys, Jamaica ginger sure will do its part,
Boy, Jamaica ginger will kill your honest heart.

But they also make fun of drinking for medicinal purposes only:

A preacher drank some ginger, he said he did it for
flu,
That was his excuse for having the Jake Leg too.

The term "Jake Leg Preacher" still refers in the south to a hypocritical, falsely self-righteous pastor, although most of our informants now relate the term incorrectly to a drinker of methyl alcohol.

Neither the Ray Brothers' nor the Allen Brothers' performance delineated the details of the tragedy, and both are devoid of the sentimentality and moralizing that are an integral part of most narratives of tragedy in American ballads recorded commercially (28).

The cynical, accepting nature of the blues style must have seemed appropriate, since the Jake Leg victims had contributed to their own plight. Those who sin, even small sins like drinking Jake, were not fit subjects for sentimental narrative ballads, which chose generally those whose horrible fate came on them despite innocence (28).

Popular music, like most popular art, is ephemeral. These performances, valuable in many ways as a reflection of the culture, were not saved systematically and were

given less care than that devoted to yellowed clippings in a newspapers morgue. We have never located the Johnson and Daddy Stovepipe recordings, and the Allen Brothers' song that generated this project came to us from a German collector. Perhaps in 2016 a scholar will bemoan the loss of all prints of "My Little Margie" and the unavailability of all vinyl recordings of "My Baby Does The Hanky-Panky." These Jake recordings show that popular music is not merely an abstract art but that such musical performance often links cultural reality to the production notes and lyrics.

A large outbreak of tri-ortho-cresyl phosphate poisoning occurred in Europe in 1931-1932 after contamination of apiol, an abortifacient (29), and smaller episodes occurred sporadically usually due to contamination of foodstuff (30).

In 1959 entrepreneurs mixed an aviation oil with cooking oil and sold it widely throughout Morocco. The aviation oil contained 3% tri-ortho-cresyl phosphate and caused 10 000 cases of paralysis (31). We have no knowledge of Moroccan popular music, but some searcher might find a North African version of the Jake Walk Blues.

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* * * * *

LETTERS

Sir:

I enjoyed the recent article and discography on Bradley Kincaid by Loyal Jones (*JEMFQ* #43 & 44). Especially interesting were Kincaid's comments concerning the origin of his songs.

The following information taken from my copy of *Majestic 6011* by Bradley Kincaid will complete the discographic data for the *Majestic* session.

T-1068	Those Precious Love Letters	Maj 6011
T-1069	Footprints in the Snow	Maj 6011

--John L. Hauser
Wheaton, Md.

(Editor's Note: Our thanks to Mr. Hauser, and also to reader Dick Hill, who sent us the same information.)

Sir:

Regarding your article "A Preliminary Porky Freeman Discography" (*JEMFQ* #37, Spring 1975), I would like to offer a small correction and an update.

On p. 37, the master number for "Spanish Bells" is listed as 1769; my copy (4 Star 1233) is 1796. "Slick Chick Boogie" and "Indian Love Call," the master numbers in question and 78 record numbers are as follows:

1797	Slick Chick Boogie	4 Star 1523
1799	Indian Love Call	4 Star 1523

I also have the following titles by the Porky Freeman Trio which were not listed in the preliminary discography:

3072	Strumming Up a Boogie	4 Star 1478 (78 rpm)
1826	Night Train	4 Star 1478 (78 rpm)

--Frank Chimarusti

Sir:

Regarding the Bradley Kincaid discography *JEMFQ* #44), I will try to clear up the mixup on Bb5377 and Bb5486 (p. 226): MWard 4456 is the same record as Bb5486, in spite of the fact that 'The Life of Jimmie Rodgers' is mislabeled 'Jimmie Rodgers' Life'. The Bb number is shown on the pressing, as well as aural evidence proving they are the same. However 'Jimmie Rodgers' Life' on the LP LSP 4073 is the other version, namely the one issued on Bb5377, so the recording date shown on the LP would appear to be in error. Aurally 'The Death of Jimmie Rodgers' is the same master on Bb5486, MW4456 and LSP4073. I don't have Sunrise 3458 to check that one out.

Panachord (p. 225): One of the Australian Panachords (12184) should not be listed here (it is not by Kincaid, but by Eddie Jordan). In several places on p. 225 you have the mysterious label 'Pan 25'--I assume this is some reference to 2 of the 6 English Panachords, none of which is listed. Following is a correct list of these items:

25119	C6869/6870	Two Little Girls in Blue/ Gooseberry Pie
25633	C5305/C5306	Barbara Allen/The Blind Girl
25901	C6873/C6874	The Fatal Derby Day/The Fatal Wedding
25986	38649/38651	Darlin' Clementine/My Mother's Beautiful Hands
26004	38652/38654	The Old Wooden Rocker/In the Little Shirt that Mother Made For Me

Regal Zonophone (p. 226): The Australian issue of master 81392 ("The Blind Girl") is RZ G24913, not G22339.

---David Crisp
Breadalbane, NSW, Australia

COMMERCIAL MUSIC GRAPHICS #42

VISUAL FOOTNOTES TO BLACK CULTURE AND BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS

By Archie Green

The year 1977 promises to be an exciting one for continued exploration in the area of Afro-American folklore. In February the Oxford University Press published *Black Culture and Black Consciousness* by Lawrence W. Levine, a historian at the University of California. His book's scope is indicated by its subtitle, *Afro-American Folk Thought from Slavery to Freedom*. Hence, he includes narrative, jest, word-play, custom, belief, and related musical forms. Complementing this study are two forthcoming books in the series *Music in American Life* issued by the University of Illinois Press. Announced for summer publication is Jeff Todd Titon's *Early Downhome Blues* and for year's end Dena J. Epstein's *Sinful Tunes and Spirituals*. My response to Levine's work is enthusiastic; I have not yet read the two Illinois books. Here, I shall comment on Levine's contribution and also offer a few graphics as a thank you to him.

Professor Levine is the first historian in the United States to shape a book entirely from folkloric sources. Literally, he journeyed through more than a century of Afro-American lore in standard collections, learned journals, popular literature, fiction, and biography. His selections could have formed a massive anthology, and, in a sense, *Black Culture and Black Consciousness* is just such an anthology--a sequential gathering of prose and poetry, song and story. But, to say this is to miss entirely Levine's thesis or, more properly, his convictions, as well as to misread the very purpose of his study. In the best sense of the term, he casts his book as a set of animated arguments. His book is much more than an anthology holding an articulated thesis; essentially it is an extended account of Afro-American folk thought--an intellectual history--written from the perspective of a "new historian." As a folklorist I shall comment briefly on these bonding elements in Levine's book.

In my reading of social science I have assumed that all scholars write within given philosophical or intellectual bounds, sometimes hidden and sometimes open. Accordingly, I have been as interested in scholarly positions as in consequent findings. Although Levine does not select for himself an explicit tag, he clearly sees his book as integral to the "new history" of the 1960s. This term has come to mean attention by historians to previously ignored, neglected, or overlooked people. One of his colleagues, Tamara Hareven, in editing a selection

of articles in this vein, chose an appropriate title: *Anonymous Americans*. Two similar phrases which have surfaced in the past decade are "history from the ground up" and "history of the inarticulate." Essentially, many of the practitioners of such special history are groping, as did academic folklorists before them, to conceptualize their subjects as members of folk society--sets of people self-enclaved or thrust apart by large society.

In this connection, Levine makes the important point that a people however inarticulate or invisible to formal historians may hold a rich and pulsing oral history. Because he wishes both to reveal and comment on Afro-American tradition, Levine goes beyond the compilation of an anthology to the formulation of a bold thesis. In essence he states: Negroes in the United States sustained self-pride and group cohesion under slavery using their lore as a survival tool. Slaves were not passive recipients of dominant Anglo-American culture. Not only did new Afro-American lore become vital in its own right, but ultimately it fed back and altered considerable mainstream expression.

To obtain perspective on Levine's formulation it is helpful to report that many early folklorists who were drawn to black tradition had a warm feeling for the intrinsic worth of the lore, without a concomitant notion of its function, or a clear understanding of the roles of Negroes in American society. I mean neither to praise nor denigrate the pioneer collectors of such material. Some accepted then-current limited views of black people, while others anticipated or shared the goals within black liberation movements.

During the 1960s few students could avoid radical or nationalistic positions built into black studies programs. A dramatic essay by Sterling Stuckey, "Through the Prism of Folklore: The Black Ethos in Slavery," challenged his fellow historians both to deal with the lore and to reexamine their own craft assumptions. Stuckey asked why "a people who were as productive esthetically as American slaves could be studied as if they had moved in a cultural cyclotron, continually bombarded by devastating, atomizing forces which denuded them of meaningful Africanisms...." Levine's

whole book demonstrates that black folks outwitted and outlasted this cyclotron.

It will not be difficult for Levine's readers, who share folkloric concerns, to see black Americans as a people "at the bottom," "coming up from slavery," or "lifting voices in song." In this sense folklorists and new historians share perspectives. It may be difficult, however, for some readers to see Levine's study as a contribution to intellectual history--a book as much the result of metaphysical inquiry as of formal history or folklore.

The label "intellectual history" is generally reserved for the concepts held by a people's leaders--key ideas about sovereignty, constitutional clash, national destiny. In this spirit we look back at the debates before the Civil War between abolitionists and planters, or we face the earlier contradiction within Thomas Jefferson's life. Simultaneously an apostle of freedom and a slaveholder, his values were at war with each other. I wish to extend "intellectual history" to cover Levine's book for it also deals with ideas--a people's conception of itself and its cosmos. These thoughts on religion, on self-actualization, and on the relationship of slave to master welled out of the minds of black folks and were given concrete substance in song and story--in lore.

Levine neither confines his selections nor his explication to the era before Freedom. Rather, he moves from Africa to the New World and from 1619 until today. This range in time and place permits him to encompass Anansi, Brer Rabbit, Jack Johnson, and Joe Louis. In citing only these four heroes over many others in his book, I must stress that Levine treats all his figures as multi-dimensioned subjects within traditional narratives, and also as cluster points for Negro endurance and aspiration. Levine's strength, I feel derives from his pleasure in lore itself (a wry proverb, an inverted joke, a signifying ditty) and his skill in placing such bits of lore in a very wide frame of thought.

There are a great many ways open for me to add a graphic dimension to Levine's book. One is simply to select a few pictures of story tellers or banjo pickers from previous folklore collections; another is to draw upon black folk art in the United States such as jugs or toys; a third is to go to parallel catalogues of African culture or tapestry. Overlooking these obvious ways, I select yet another.

Upon reading Levine, initially I saw in memory several visual representations of Anansi, the spider trickster hero. Born in West Africa, Anansi was but one of several weak or small animals who lived by wit: Spider, Hare, Tortoise. Anansi travelled to Jamaica and even touched shore in the United States, but here he was overshadowed by Brer Rabbit. Hence I have selected two familiar illustrations by A. B. Frost from Joel Chandler Harris' *Uncle Remus*

tales. During the 1870s Harris first wrote plantation dialect stories for the *Atlanta Constitution*; in 1880 these were gathered into *Uncle Remus: His Songs and Sayings*. Many volumes followed with varied titles, some of which are still available in reprints and anthologies. Arthur Burdett Frost (1851-1928) is the best known of all the Uncle Remus artists and was especially lauded by Harris for being true to this large body of lore. The two Frost illustrations used here show Brer Rabbit's enemy Brer Fox attempting a trick by constructing the Tar Baby (in a full page of text, 1895), and "Brer B'ar Tied Hard en Fas'" (in a full page plate, 1892).

But I am challenged by Levine's stance as a new historian. Therefore, I am pulled away from Frost's animal tricksters, however wise, to art which personifies ideas less obvious than guile. In short, I want to experience the tension felt by many artists when they responded to the vitality, pathos, and terror in Afro-American lore. This response is scattered in thousands of files and folios, museums and libraries. Included are drawings or paintings by black and white creators who functioned at many levels of expression--elegant, popular, naive. I shall not, at this juncture, plunge into the jungle surrounding definitions of folk art. Instead, I shall select a handful of visual stereotypes which jelled after artists heard and saw black song and dance.

No one who has ever listened to Afro-American music, or has seen its graphic representation (pocket songster, sheet music covers, theatre playbills, phonograph record ads, concert and festival posters) has escaped stereotypes. Lest one think that such conventionally molded patterns of Negro life are lost in the past, one has only to drop in at a "Shaft" film or tune in on a current television situation comedy such as "What's Happening." The literature on black stereotypes is ample; here I shall select for display four representative characters, with roots both in folk and popular culture. Each is linked to musical expression:

- A) Happy, lazy, shuffling clown (Jim Crow);
- B) Gaudy, shift, hustling dandy (Zip Coon);
- C) Childish, loyal contented slave (Uncle Tom)
- D) Heathen, primitive, savage stud (Emperor Jones).

By no means are members of this quartet the only ones to have emerged from Afro-American folklore. I neglect such figures as John and Old Marster, as well as various preachers or deacons marked by high verbal skill. Rather, I offer four types for bright focus because they are central in considerable Negro lore. I assert this, conscious that Levine never features their names in his study.

Anansi and Brer Rabbit were clowns who lived by deception, who charmed friends, who put down enemies. Zip Coon is not a relic of the past but lives on in the Shine of Titanic fame in urban toasts, in Rinehart, a mysterious dandy from Ralph Ellison's *Invisible Man*, and in Iceberg Slim's confessional pulp fiction. Interestingly, when the autobiography *Jack Johnson--In the Ring--And Out* (1927) was reissued in 1969, it was given a fresh title, *Jack Johnson is a Dandy*. Uncle Tom and Uncle Remus, often intertwined, are both alive in communities throughout the land. Without effort one can see aspects of John Henry and Joe Louis in the complex Emperor Jones. To make these analogies is but to comment on the ubiquity of major types.

The pictures reproduced to match these four archetypal figures are not rare works of art, and require but little identification. Thus, I shall briefly mention sources and settings for each.

Jim Crow, a kind of visual scarecrow, first appeared on the sheet music cover of Thomas Dartmouth Rice's song of that name printed in New York by E. Riley in about 1829. Because this name entered American speech to stand for codes of segregation, its history is available. (See for example, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow* by C. Van Woodward, 1955.) Rice, a white actor, in blackface, created an impersonation of a dilapidated but rakish dancer after hearing a crippled Negro groom sing at his work in a Louisville livery stable. Rice mimicked the "heel-a-rickin" or jumping dance and improvised an accompanying song. Jim Crow, as a special song-dance routine, made its debut at the Bowery Theatre during 1832 and brought fame and fortune to "Daddy" Rice. For half a century Jim Crow, tattered and battered, was also an integral part of burnt-cork minstrelsy.

A parallel type, who preceded and contributed to blackface minstrelsy, was Zip Coon. Actually, this ridiculous dude originally parodied the elegant white dandies known on the American stage early in the nineteenth century. The name itself still lingers in our language as part of the country-music square dance, "Turkey in the Straw." The figure shown here was published on a sheet music cover, "Zip Coon," by Atwill's Music Saloon in 1834. We see that Zip's clothes were outlandish while his baubles and lorgnon hinted at effeminacy. His very name suggested lust for a delicious racoon. Like Jim Crow, Zip's exaggerated style has persisted. But one example is the sharp Scarlet Creeper who opens Carl Van Vechten's Harlem novel, *Nigger Heaven* (1926). Another example is the term "zoot suit" from the swing and big band era marked by jitterbug dancing. Today, every television narcotics pusher or numbers runner, if black, is a reincarnated and citified Zip Coon. A line drawing by Al Hirschfeld, *The New York Times* theatrical caricaturist, from 1941 captures the threads and stance of a "Pimp," blood brother to the trickster dandy of the 1830s.

The question of the origin of blackface minstrelsy, like the question of the origin of slave spirituals, has plagued several generations of scholars. Did the minstrel actor really reflect plantation mores or only white imagistic distortions of black life? I wish to suggest that Anansi and Brer Rabbit, integral to black folklore, reached much of white America transformed on stage into Jim Crow and Zip Coon. A strong counterstatement denying Afro-American influence or inspiration for minstrelsy comes from historian Nathan Huggins. Of the two principals who define this theatre, he asserts that Jim Crow and Jim Dandy (Zip Coon) are unlikely any concept of the plantation black.

Professor Huggins wrote in *Harlem Renaissance*: "Jim Crow (the rough, coarse, barbarian) is clearly a part of the backwoods and riverboat tradition, a blackfaced Mike Fink or Davy Crockett. Jim Dandy (urban, dandified, almost effeminate), on the other hand, is the blackfaced counterpart to Yankee Doodle. In short, these supposed mimics of slaves were really standard American comedy types underneath the burnt cork." Huggins in highlighting the whiteness of Jim Crow and Zip Coon helps us comprehend the constant interpenetration of black and white emotional expression. Each set of people needed the other's fantasy or folklore. It is in this spirit that I have moved from Anansi and Brer Rabbit to Jim Crow, Zip Coon, Shine, and Shaft.

Today, Uncle Tom holds a triad of associations: Harriet Beecher Stowe's classic anti-slavery novel (1852), a stage play derived from this serious tract, an obsequious life style. Upon enactment, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* became an extremely popular abolitionist drama. Transformed after the Civil War, the play continued as a lurid grab-bag: comic minstrel routines, elaborate sets, elegant dances such as the cakewalk, choral groups of jubilee singers, melodramatic chases, nostalgic visions of plantation life. Uncle Tom's stage longevity was remarkable; some blues musicians through World War II continued to "cork up" for rural tent ("jig opera") Tom Shows. Despite any contemporary pejorative views of either the novel or play, we can credit the latter as an important vehicle for Negro actors to enter legitimate theatre. Initially, white men blacked-up as Uncle Tom. The great black actor Sam Lucas toured in minstrel versions for decades before he gained the lead in a film of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* made during 1914 with a large cast of Negro players. Needless to say, white actors had predominated in the first one-reeler of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* directed for Thomas Edison in 1903 by Edwin S. Porter, best known for "The Great Train Robbery."

The large playbill reproduced here does not actually pinpoint the familiar whitehaired old slave, nor does it convey only a stereotype of servility. Instead, this playbill documents a gargantuan Tom Show--A Sterling Historical Drama--as a very popular part of American entertainment

for nearly a century. In fairness to Harriet Beecher Stowe it must be reported that she created Uncle Tom as a Christ-like figure, towering in gentility and devotion. It was inconceivable to her that this moral being was not stronger than the evil around him. In the touring melodramas between 1870 and 1900, Uncle Tom was turned into a fawning and despicable coward--a cardboard man whose very name set back "the climb" of Negroes into national life.

The fourth type isolated for representation is *Emperor Jones*. Not as well known by name or role as Uncle Tom, nevertheless, Brutus Jones is a compelling figure in Afro-American life. In sum, the Emperor is clown, dandy, brute, and child without a precise separation of roles. This ambiguous but powerful character came out of Eugene O'Neill's mind when he wrote *The Emperor Jones*, first staged during November 1920 in New York by the Provincetown Players. However, the germinal anecdote had previously come to the playwright from a circus hand who had worked in Haiti, and who recalled President Vilbrun Guillaume Sam's boast that he could never be killed by enemies, only by a self-inflicted silver bullet. O'Neill also used stories about the lives of Henri Christophe and Toussaint L'Ouverture to enlarge his hero.

Brutus Jones, a Pullman porter and hustler, aspired to nobility by becoming the ruler of a Caribbean island. Rising to absolute power by manipulating black superstitious belief, Jones was eventually destroyed by the rebellious islanders he had exploited. Jones' descent, after losing his way in the jungle, was a superb theatrical enactment, for it was accompanied by a monotonous and constant beat of off-stage tom-toms. Tragically, this bombastic Caesar had become his own Brutus. It has been asserted that O'Neill's Jones was a universal figure, one of ambivalent attraction, at once savage and noble. To state this truth does not diminish Jones' blackness, nor his source in black tradition.

Black actor Charles Gilpin played the first *Emperor Jones* and out of his sensitivity created a magnificent stage hero. The young Paul Robeson was selected by O'Neill in 1924 for the play's first revival. A year later he held London audiences spellbound in this role; in 1930, before Hitler came to power, Robeson captivated Berlin audiences as Jones. On 7 January 1933 *The Emperor Jones* was premiered by the Metropolitan Opera Company with music by Louis Gruenberg. Although the opera was not in any sense comic, Lawrence Tibbett, in a throwback to the minstrel stage, blacked-up for the role of the autocratic Jones. Tibbett's powerful rendition of the spiritual "Standin' in the Need of Prayer" became a benchmark in the realm of American folksong on the concert stage.

Also, in 1933 the play was transformed into a United Artists film with Paul Robeson as Jones. It was an artistic success but box office failure. A detail from the movie is of interest to folk-song fans, for Robeson sang "Water Boy," "John

Henry," and "Jacob's Ladder." Another use of O'Neill's play came in 1956, when Jose Limon presented *The Emperor Jones* as a modern dance ballet at the Empire State Music Festival, Ellenville, New York. To my knowledge, the most recent special treatment of *The Emperor Jones* is in the Theatre Recording Society LP album produced in 1971 (Caedmon TRS 341) featuring James Earl Jones.

Occasionally, when the play is now revived or the Robeson film is shown as an example of early black cinema, critics are disturbed by the role of the hustler-turned-dictator. While still a porter, Brutus Jones had learned of successful cheating and stealing by "listenin' to de white quality talk in the Pullman cars." But for him this overheard lesson proved fatal. Brought down in the jungle by his own guilt, Brutus was stripped of civilization's veneer and died. Is this, or can it be, an appropriate model in black life today?

The art work used for *Brer Rabbit*, *Jim Crow*, *Zip Coon*, and *Uncle Tom* came directly from the hands of illustrators, lithographers, engravers, and other craftsmen using very old skills. For *Emperor Jones* I turn to a pair of modern stills--photographs taken on location for publicity purposes--from *The Emperor Jones*, filmed in New York during 1933. We see Paul Robeson in two poses crucial to O'Neill's drama: the ultimate trickster who has conned an entire nation; the monarch stripped of glory, hunted by subjects and haunted by self.

I am aware that the illustrations described in this commentary are neither pure folk in subject nor in style. The original sheet music cover for the songs "Jim Crow" and "Zip Coon" may have been based on folk or folk-derived performance, but the covers themselves are not items of folk art. More important than placing sheet-music art within classificatory schemes, however, is our knowledge that depictions of musical clowns and dandies really comment on human perspective: the views many whites held (or hold) of blacks.

Sketches of Anansi and *Brer Rabbit* are central to Afro-American folklore. It follows that broadsides announcing an Uncle Tom melodrama or glossy photos of *Emperor Jones* are peripheral to folk culture. But Uncle Tom or Brutus Jones as symbols are not peripheral to black tradition. Not only did Harriet Beecher Stowe and Eugene O'Neill build on time-tested themes in folk narrative, but many white Americans continue to see their black neighbors as characters in folk literature and art. The stereotypes which are formulated in folk expression move into popular culture and function constantly. We have lived by such perceptions for centuries. They are not easy to shed.

To return to Levine's *Black Culture and Black Consciousness*, it is not a book about Jim Crow, Zip Coon, Uncle Tom, or *Emperor Jones*. Hence, to some readers a *Brer Rabbit* sketch

8 LEGENDS OF THE OLD PLANTATION.

twel he spy de Tar-Baby, en den he fotch up on his be-
hime legs like he wuz 'stonished. De Tar-Baby, she
sot dar, she did, en Brer Fox, he lay low.



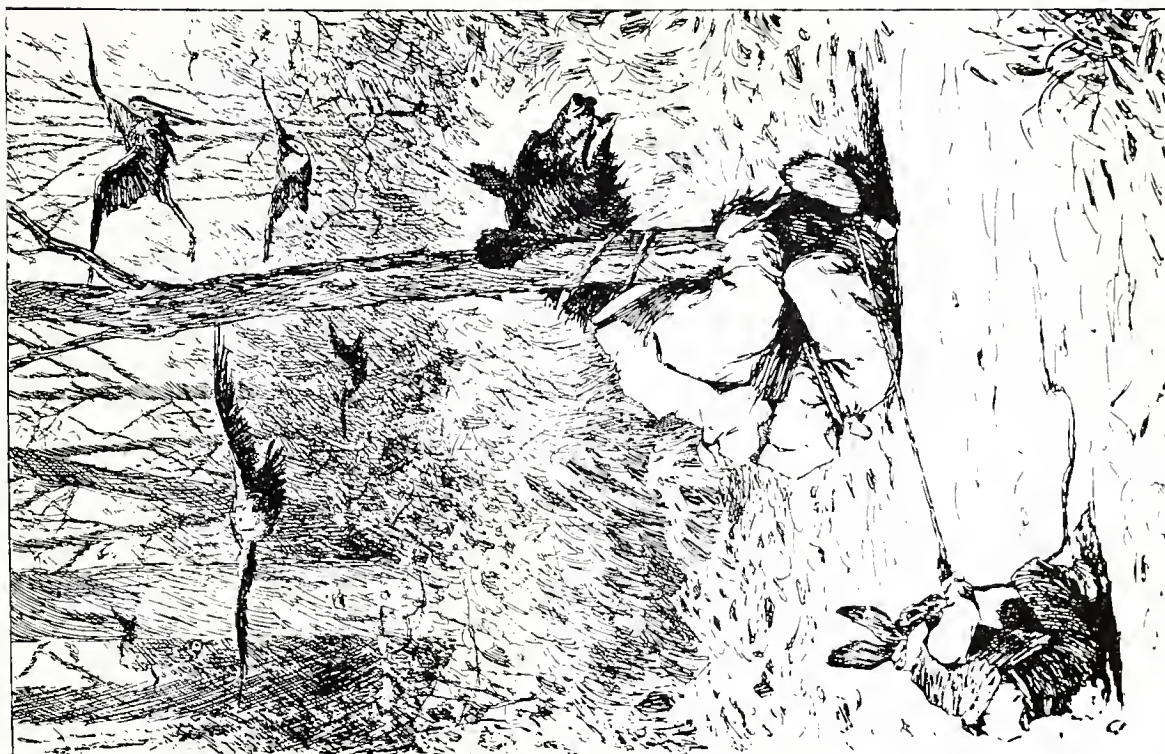
“ ‘Mawnin’!’ sez Brer Rabbit, sezee— ‘nice wedder
dis mawnin’,’ sezee.

“ ‘Tar-Baby ain’t sayin’ nothin’, en Brer Fox, he lay
low.

“ ‘How duz yo’ sym’tums seem ter segashuate?’ sez
Brer Rabbit, sezee.

“ ‘Brer Fox, he wink his eye slow, en lay low, en de
Tar-Baby, she ain’t sayin’ nothin’.

“ ‘How you come on, den? Is you deaf?’ sez Brer
Rabbit, sezee. ‘Kaze if you is, I kin holler louder,’
sezee.





"Zip Coon," the black dandy. From the cover of the song "Zip Coon" (New York, Atwill's Music Saloon, 1834).



The Negro minstrel type "Jim Crow." From the cover of the song "Jim Crow" (New York, E. Riley, n.d. [thirties]).

A MAGNIFICENT PRODUCTION OF THAT STERLING HISTORICAL DRAMA **UNCLE TOM'S CABIN** OR LIFE AMONG THE LOWLY.

BY HARRIET BEECHER STOWE.

A HIGH-CLASS ENTERTAINMENT



THE HISTORIC SLAVE MARKET
And many other scenes that go to form a great production of this grand old historical play.

A PAIR OF FULL-BLOODED BLOODHOUNDS
Trained to take part in the Drama, are used in the thrilling scene showing

Eliza Escaping from the Slave-hunters

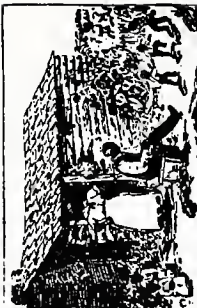


A GREAT AND MORAL PLAY.
COMING WITH ALL THE GRANDEUR AND MAGNITUDE THAT THE MIND OF MAN EVER CONCEIVED.

BRIGHT
NEW SONGS, FUNNY SAYINGS,
ORIGINAL JUBILEE SINGERS
AND TALENTED MUSICIANS.

A GOOD PERFORMANCE IS ALWAYS
WORTHY OF PATRONAGE.

Replete with Comedy and Pathos
and mingling with tears in a
most marvelous fashion.



SPLENDID SCENERY AND HANDSOME COSTUMES

A SUPERB ORCHESTRA
A BREATH OF AIR FROM THE SUNNY SOUTH

PLANTATION SONGS AND MELODIES



The Funny Lawyer, Marks.
The Frolicsome "Topsy."
The Quaint Spinster, Aunt Ophelia.
The Beautiful Little Eva.
The Kind and Affectionate "Uncle Tom."
The Hard-Hearted Legree.
The Abused Mulatto Slave, "Eliza."
The Grand Transformation Scene.

A Play that is Delightful, Wonderful, Instructive and Moral.

SOME PRACTICAL AND CANDID WORDS
FOR THE MILLIONS OF FATHERS AND MOTHERS
Well Worth Remembering.

If you are gifted to sing but are exhibiting this season, this is surely the day. As your choruses will tell you, it will receive you back into the American history and absolute recreation more than any other. It is just what it is advertised to be. The Grandest, Purest and Most Interesting, Instructive and Moral Show of the Season.

THIS SHOW IS DESERVEDLY POPULAR.
It is hard to find a person who has not seen it or doesn't intend to see it. It is just what it is advertised to be. The Grandest, Purest and Most Interesting, Instructive and Moral Show of the Season.

IT IS DELIGHTFUL, WONDERFUL, INSTRUCTIVE AND MORAL.
DON'T FAIL TO TAKE THE CHILDREN AND GIVE THEM A LASTING LESSON IN AMERICAN HISTORY.



LEGREE WHIPPING TOM.



THE PLOT.



may seem fully appropriate and the archetypal figures selected here may seem inappropriate. Nevertheless, I am pulled to the basic concepts inherent in these stock types when I read tales of tricksters and preachers or hear gospel hymns and downhome blues. I want to know how a rich body of verbal art helped spawn a set of grimacing and grotesque, or pathetic and lonely, straw men. Why do such pictures persist on festival stages and television screens? To begin answers is to undertake a tome beyond this feature.

One of Professor Levine's insights suggests "an answer" or perhaps only a technique for relating folkloric data, its social base, and outside graphic response. His thought is not expressed in reference to visual perception, but rather in the time setting of early white awareness of spirituals. During the Civil War a band of dedicated abolitionist teachers such as Laura Towne, to name but one, journeyed to the Carolina Sea Islands to help "contraband" slaves. Even before Emancipation these northerners were caught up by the beauty of Negro song. Many of these teachers came from a New England Calvinistic tradition and were upset by emotional, effervescent religious practices. In their hearts Miss Towne and her peers felt that they had to replace black ecstatic religion with austere Congregationalist worship. However negative this urge to alter seems in retrospect, it was grounded in notion of Negro worth rather than venality.

These early teachers did not perceive themselves to be folklorists; nevertheless, they cast their nets widely and collected slave songs. Many students now believe that black sacred music functioned as an instrument in building esteem and endurance. I assert that these newly heard spirituals also became weapons in the abolitionist arsenal. For a northern advocate of black freedom the song itself demonstrated that slaves were human. This belief in song, not always spelled out, assumed that a being who could create such an item of worship had status in the eyes of God. It followed that the spirituals formed a body of soul music. Slaves with souls, already free in theological terms, deserved full freedom in law.

The Sea Island teachers during and after the War were part of a Port Royal Experiment to help freedmen. It is imperative that we sense their vision if we are to comprehend the contrastive visual art flowing from the minstrel stage. An artist who depicted a black singer or dancer as a Jim Crow or a Zip Coon suggested that slaves were birds or animals who lacked souls. Obviously, every lithographer hired to prepare a minstrel poster did not shout this negative philosophical creed in the street. Yet his own artistic creation--ink on paper--held deep values about black life.

Symbolically, the many limners of minstrel types joined with southern defenders of slavery to shout or whisper: Let blacks stew in their

own cultural juice. If they dance funny, or tell droll stories, or fall into obscure dialect, or Africanize hymns--just let them do so. Ironically, the folk expressions which abolitionists used to assert black humanity were also used by minstrel performers on stage (or commercial artists depicting such performance) to demonstrate that blacks were subhuman.

Deliberately, I have brought minstrel sheet music, the Port Royal Experiment, and Professor Levine into a trinity to highlight several problems not fully explored in American studies: How do visual and oral expression interact in society? Does this interaction differ where modes of folk, popular, and high culture intersect? How many possible responses are open to an artist depicting a folk performance of song and dance? What role in large society does the illustrator play when he sets his goal as the representation of folk tradition?

These questions require complex answers. However, in very compressed form, we can place some findings in sequence. Tom Rice heard/saw a groom at work and turned this black expression into a popular song-dance. The artist who drew Jim Crow helped fix a stereotype in American life and a term in political language. Rice was an actor who used a bit of folkloric data to create a popular stage success, without concern for Negro sensibilities. Professor Levine helps us understand survival aspects of black clown figures--the lore behind Jim Crow. Going beyond the specifics of any particular trickster, Levine has also used considerable folkloric data to demonstrate how black people transcended slavery. He knows that the "Peculiar Institution" did not reduce a whole people to mindlessness. Levine, of course, stands in highest contrast to Tom Rice and other shapers of minstrel stereotypes, cognitive or graphic. Figuratively, I see him in line with the Port Royal teachers who used slave lore to assert a people's moral worth. Levine uses this same lore to assert creativity and strength. Despite my very high regard for Levine's position, I continue to see persistent visual stereotypes which demean black life.

In opening my commentary I suggested these few graphics as a thank you for Levine and went on to select Brer Rabbit as well as four difficult examples: Jim Crow, Zip Coon, Uncle Tom, Emperor Jones. To offer such portraits may seem to him to be a cruel form of salutation. Hence, in compensation, two drawings close in spirit to Levine's book are also reproduced.

During the post-Civil War decades a number of periodicals accepted sympathetic articles on Afro-American cultural experience. For example, Lafcadio Hearn reported "Levee Life" for the *Cincinnati Commercial* (17 March 1876), and noted the music and dance of Negro roustabouts in their waterfront "Sausage Rows" and "Bucktowns." From the mouth of the river,

George Washington Cable similarly described dancing in New Orleans' Congo Square for *Century Magazine* (February, 1886). Serious articles deserved ethnographic sketches; two by E. W. Kemble are reproduced here: "The Bamboula" and "In the Store." They display African and European instruments, respectively, but, more significantly, mark Kemble's skill in capturing folklore in action. When I see Kemble's illustrations I also hear a voice--one similar in tone to that of Laura Towne and Lawrence Levine.

I shall round out my commentary with a question about Edward Windsor Kemble, probably the finest illustrator of black folk themes to have emerged in the United States. Born in Sacramento in 1861, he was self-taught and spent his entire adult life as a New York-based magazine artist. He was selected by publishers to illustrate a number of classics, such as *Huckleberry Finn*, but is best remembered for his acute observations of Negro everyday life. Many of Kemble's drawings are purely descriptive of folk activity and could be used to grace an anthropological text. But other Kemble pieces of "pica-ninnies" and "coons" are, today, embarrassing and offensive.

Not enough about Kemble's philosophy is known to me to explain either his own empathy for black life expressed in straight sketches, or his stereotypical views shown in excessively sentimental portraits. Did he see any contradiction between these dual visions? Was he aware of this distance, or was he simply working for a living--drawing on demand of editors and publishers? Was he reflective enough to note that deep polarities in Afro-American life were also present in his art? Kemble died in 1933. I cannot believe that he left neither letters nor interviews revealing personal attitudes. Certainly, he is an important future subject for a scholar involved in black folklore.

I have used *Black Culture and Black Consciousness* as well as a handful of pictures to offer a few comments on Afro-American tradition and some visual responses which their lore engendered. It is obvious to me, and, I hope to my readers, that folklorists in the United States must pay attention in the days ahead to many of the questions I have touched but not answered here. Any article about the depictions of black singer/dancers by illustrators--elegant, popular, naive--would be welcome in these pages. We need to view Afro-American artists from the colonial era until today, responding to broad stylistic movements such as formalism, romanticism, realism, as well as to recent non-representational modalities. We need also to understand that these same creators wrestled in their work with questions of black ideology and identity. In short, as folk enthusiasts who match hearing and seeing experiences, we must place sketches or photos of blues singers, juke dancers, rural preachers, and street dudes in the largest frames of esthetic and ethical value open to us.

In writing this graphics commentary I have been aware of my personal but unstated debt to many early scholars who pioneered in Afro-American folklore and art. Yet I have presented my thoughts with only a few bibliographical references to predecessors. No student of black art can overlook Alain Locke and James Porter or, more recently, Robert Farris Thompson. Without naming them I have used their insights. Similarly, I have not detailed Professor Levine's own debt to folklorists by citing names. Arbitrarily, I select but six: Newbell Niles Puckett, Newman Ivy White, John Lomax, Elsie Clews Parsons, J. Mason Brewer, Roger D. Abrahams. Without them and their many peers Levine would have had no book. Explication of folklore is meaningful only when it follows substantial collecting. The half-dozen folklorists named here at the end are not greater than any of their fellows. Rather, the lore they unearthed became the building blocks for Levine's new history. My highest praise for him is that his work is as rich as the lore he used. His book graces the footings upon which it stands.

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"Jim Crow," reproduced from Hans Nathan, *Dan Emmett and the Rise of Early Negro Minstrelsy* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962), p. 51. Reproduced from sheet music cover of 1830s.

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---Louisville, Ky.



THE CARTER FAMILY'S "WAVES ON THE SEA" -- CHILD 289?

By Bill Ellis

[For years, folksong scholars interested in hillbilly music sought to identify the few examples of the oldest surviving layer of Anglo-American folk balladry--often called "Child ballads," after the 19th century scholar who catalogued them--among early commercial hillbilly recordings. Now, Bill Ellis, a doctoral candidate at Ohio State University, suggests that in at least one case, the identification may have been too hasty.]

From 1927 to 1941 the Carter Family recorded a wide range of folksongs and folk-derived material on commercial 78s, including a fine version of "The Gypsy Laddie" (Child 200) and an excellent, if abridged, rendition of "The Sweet Trinity" (Child 286).¹ A checklist of Child ballads on hillbilly records compiled by Guthrie Meade and Norm Cohen also credits the Carters with a version of "The Mermaid" (Child 289),² entitled "The Waves on the Sea." But unlike the Carters' other versions of Child ballads, this side at first seems confused and corrupt. A transcription of this performance is as follows:

Chorus: Oh the waves on the sea how they roll
The chilly winds how they do blow
My own true love got drowned in the deep
And the ship never got to the shore.

1. Oh the first on the deck was the porter
of the ship
And a rough-looking fellow was he
Says I care no more for my wife and my
child
Than I do for the fish in the sea.

Chorus

2. Well I left my dear darling a-grieving
Well I left my dear darling a-grieving
I left my dear darling grieving after me
For I never expect to see her any more.

Chorus³

A folklore scholar's immediate reaction to this version might be to treat it as an inferior, worn-down version of Child 289, primarily because fuller versions that show how the ballad "ought" to go are immediately available in most published folksong collections. Yet the Carters present the song as a complete entity, not as a fragment or a confused memory. If we look at "The Waves on the Sea" in its own right, as a lyric, not an unsuccessful attempt to present a Child ballad, we can better understand what it is and what "The Mermaid" has become. In particular, we can see how narrative material has been used to form an emotional, not a narrative unit, using three brief narrative episodes discretely to describe the pain of a broken love relationship.

The emotional core of the traditional "Mermaid" texts is the incremental sequence of

crew members reacting to their imminent deaths, but the Carter Family text preserves only the "Cook's" viewpoint (here given to a "rough-looking porter"). This figure does not speak in the earliest texts, in which the ship's captain, mate, and second mate all appear and lament that tonight their wives must be widows. At this point the cabin-boy tops their sorrows by saying "I am as sorry for my mother dear/As you are for your wives all three." But by the middle of the nineteenth century this touch of sentiment had been turned to parody by having a "rusty old dog" of a cook appear and top even the cabin-boy's lament with "I am as sorry for my pats and my pans/As you are for your wives all three."⁴ The effect is to turn a solemn moment of farewell to wives and mother into burlesque by dropping this pathos into the most trivial of bathos. The comic touch was enough to establish "The Mermaid" as one of the most popular traditional songs of camp and college.

The appearance of the "cook" in the Carters' version, however, is not comic. Where most American versions give his speech as something like: "I care much more for my kettles and my pots/Than I do for the depths of the sea," the Carter Family text follows two other Southeastern texts in reading: "I care no more for my wife and my child/Than I do for the fish in the sea."⁵ While the comic cook's preoccupation with trivia provides a welcome relief from the "well-spoken" speeches of the other crewmembers, the Carters' "porter" provides a contrast of another kind. He is "wretched-looking" (Sharp), "sassy" (Stoneman) or "rough-looking" (Carter Family), and, while the others remember their loved ones, he stands callously apart, considering his family, if at all, on a sub-human level. In these versions he has become a vicious bad-man figure, resembling the John Hardy of two West Virginia texts who "cared no more for his wife and his child/Than the rocks in the bottom of the sea. . ."⁶ By shifting the focus to the contrast between the nobler crewmembers' genuine concern for their wives and the bad-man's self-centered disdain, the incremental sequence becomes serious again, and the effect is to make the ballad into a comment on two opposite attitudes toward love.

The Carter Family's text makes an additional change in the "Mermaid" material. While the traditional chorus shows us the storm and shipwreck from the viewpoint of "us poor sailors who are sinking in the deep," the Carters' text is apparently unique in putting the chorus into the mouth of the bereaved sweetheart, making it "My own true love" who is drowned. While this revision gets rid of the meaningless "landlord" (from "landlubber") who appears in Sharp's and Stoneman's texts, it again shifts the focus of the song from shipwreck to tragic love. Thus we see that the "Mermaid" elements in the Carter Family's text have already evolved far from the "original," and that the ballad elements no longer comment on two ways of meeting death by drowning but on two ways of parting from a lover.

In recent years Maybelle Carter, with the Carter Sisters, recorded a version of "The Waves on the Sea" that included one more stanza from the "Mermaid" material:

Oh the next on the deck was the captain of
the ship
And a nice-looking fellow was he
Says (?) ten poor sailors gotdrown'd in the
deep
And the ship's still out in the sea.

This stanza reverts to the ballad's original focus on the human suffering caused by the elements, not by false love, and, assuming that this stanza was part of the "old, old song" the Carters knew when they made their 1941 recording, it is significant that they chose to leave it out. Had they wanted to present another stanza from the original "Mermaid" plot as they knew it, they had more than enough wax to do so, since the entire song as performed includes three choruses, four instrumental breaks, and only two verses. But the captain's remarks seem to have been less important to the Carters' conception of what the song was about than the stanza they chose to perform--a lyric stanza unrelated to the traditional "Mermaid" texts but clearly deriving from a lyric complex known in collections and recordings variously as "My Home's Across the Blue Ridge Mountains" or "I'm Going Back to North Carolina."⁷ It is tempting to turn "The Waves on the Sea" into an abbreviated narrative by reading this stanza as the "porter's" speech, expanding on how little he cares for his wife. But one wonders why he would refer to her as "my dear darling," or why the Carter Family recording of other stanzas from this complex emphasize that the lover is genuinely reluctant to part with his sweetheart ("How can I keep from crying? . . . Oh how I hate to leave you . . ."). Other recorded versions indicate that "My Home's Across" was not typically a song about one lover rejecting and abandoning another, as is "New River Train." It is therefore more valid not to try to wrest a consistent narrative from these two stanzas and chorus, but to accept it as a folk-lyric that follows the usual rhetorical form of defining emotion through juxtaposing brief narrative vignettes, even though on a literal level these narratives may seem to conflict. "The Waves on the Sea" is a lyric descrip-

tion of the emotion created by the shock of a love affair gone awry, painted through glimpses of a woman mourning her drowned lover, a bad-man turning his back on his wife and children, and a lover forced to separate forever from his grieving sweetheart. Three discrete perspectives on a broken affair combine to create a single emotional entity, which is no longer Child 289. "The Mermaid," revised and mixed with new material, has become not "The Mermaid" corrupted, but a new and different song, unified by its own artistic terms, not by our scholarly expectations.

The most distracting element of this reading would seem to be the violent contradiction between the scenes of lovers merely parted on earth and the scene of a lover killed. In consistent narratives dead lovers and unfaithful sweethearts are rarely confused, but illogical as this equation at first seems, it has precedent in folk and hillbilly lyric tradition. The British ballad "Sweet William" (also known as "The Sailor Boy") mixes and is mixed with lyric elements from "abandoned lover" songs. While Ernest Stoneman's version of "Careless Love" begins with the usual "Love, oh love, oh careless love" stanza, this scene immediately follows:

Captain captain tell me true
My sweet Willie sail with you
Oh no kind miss he is not here
He lies in yonder deep I fear.

Willie, nevertheless, reappears in later stanzas, not only alive, but proudly strutting by, bad-man fashion, in "a Stetson hat and a suit of clothes."⁸ Conversely, a version of "Sweet William" collected in Virginia by Dorothy Scarborough begins with the same "Captain captain" stanza, but juxtaposes it with this chorus:

Go bring me back the one I love
He is a darling little love,
For they say he is with another girl
And is proving false to me.⁹

While the rest of the ballad contains lyric material associated with "Sweet William," these same stanzas also cross over into such "abandoned lover" ballads as "The Butcher's Boy" and "There is a Tavern in the Town." It seems evident that in folk lyrics the emotions, if not the cold facts, of losing a lover to the ocean were so close to those of losing him to "a strange girl" as to be equivalent. The same juxtaposition in "The Waves on the Sea" ought not to be surprising.

The process we see operating here ought to be seen not as one of *zersingen*, or corruption, but rather of "recycling" older narrative material for use in a precise, consistent, but lyric form. It is unfortunate that so little study has been made of the traditional structure or content of folk lyrics, or how folk artists take over and reuse older British material for new songs. Yet examples of similar "recycling" of

Child-ballad material are easy to find. For example, in the midst of Darby and Tarlton's "My Father Died a Drunkard," a lonely hobo's lament, we find the following scrap of "Sir Hugh" (Child 155) used for lyric effect:

Place my schoolbooks beneath my side
The Bible under my head
And if my dear sweetheart should call for me
Pray tell her I am dead.¹⁰

Such examples ought to be studied, not to show how the American folk or hillbilly tradition is a corruption of a purer, better British tradition, but to grasp how American folk performers and composers used the older tradition dynamically at the same time as they transmitted it passively. Only thus can we understand the history of American folksong as continuing evolution, not as a one-way devolution.

FOOTNOTES

¹ "Black Jack David," Okeh 06313 (4 Oct 1940), and "Sinking in the Lonesome Sea," ARC releases 7-12-63 (5 May 1935). Both reissued, briefly, on Harmony HL 7422: *Country Sounds of the Original Carter Family*.

² "The Sources of Old Time Hillbilly Music. I: Child Ballads," *JEMFQ* 9 (1973), p. 61.

³ Bluebird 33-0512 (14 Oct 1941). Reissued on RCA (English) DPM 2046: *The Carter Family: Famous Country Music Makers*. Also transcribed in *The New Lost City Ramblers Song Book* (New York: Oak Publications, 1964), pp. 114-115. The A. P. Carter Family (A. P., Sara, Joe and Janette) also recorded the song on Acme LP-1 (19 Apr 1956), but I have not heard this version. More recently, Mother Maybelle and the Carter Sisters sang a version of the number on Liberty LRP-3230: *The Carter Family Album*, with an additional stanza transcribed and discussed later in this study. This transcription was made available to me by Norm Cohen, who also informs me that Sara Carter told Ed Kahn that "The Waves on the Sea" was "an old, old song" that the Carters has known traditionally all their life. It is possible, still, that the version recorded was "worked up" in some ways by A. P. Carter.

⁴ *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, by Francis James Child (1882-93; rpt. New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1965), V., 149, 151.

⁵ Cecil J. Sharp and Maud Karpeles, *English Folk Songs from the Southern Appalachians* (London: Oxford University Press, 1932), I, 291, and Ernest V. Stoneman and the Blue Ridge Corn Shuckers, "The Raging Sea, How It Roars," Victor 21648 (22 Feb. 1928); reissued on Rounder 1008: *Ernest V. Stoneman and the Blue Ridge Corn Shuckers*. Transcriptions of both may be found in *The Traditional Tunes of the Child Ballads*, ed. Bertrand Harris Bronson (Princeton, N. J.; Princeton University Press, 1959-71), IV, 377-79.

⁶ *Folk-Songs of the South*, by John Harrington Cox (1925; rpt. New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1967), 183-84.

⁷ Kelly Harrell, Okeh 40505 (Aug 1925) (as "I'm Going Back . . ."). The Carolina Tar Heels, Victor 40100 (3 Apr 1929). The Carter Family, Decca 5532 (18 Jun 1937) (last two as "My Home's Across . . ."). See also *The Frank C. Brown Collection of North Carolina Folklore* (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press, 1952-61), III, 326.

⁸ Ernest V. Stoneman and His Dixie Mountaineers, Edison 52386 (24 Apr 1928). Reissued on Historical HLP-8004: *Ernest V. Stoneman and His Dixie Mountaineers*.

⁹ Dorothy Scarborough, *A Song Catcher in the Southern Mountains* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1937), pp. 318-20.

¹⁰ Tom Darby and Jimmie Tarlton, "My Father Died a Drunkard," Columbia 15552-D (16 Apr 1930). My thanks to Norm Cohen for allowing me to dub this side in the JEMF Collection. Charlie Davis's "Sleep on, Brown Eyes" on Victor 21370 (24 Feb 1928) may be the same song, but I have not heard it.

-- Ohio State University
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THE AUSTRALIAN REGAL AND REGAL ZONOPHONE

SERIES NUMERICAL (1928-56), Part I

By David Crisp and Hedley Charles

The Regal and Regal Zonophone labels were pressed by Columbia Graphophone (Aust.) Ltd. in Sydney, N.S.W., and later by E.M.I., this label had more country music releases than any other label outside of the U.S.A. (around 950 records).

The material was drawn from many sources. In brief, the earliest period was from U. S. Columbia (6 figure numbers) interspersed with Australian artists (T prefix) and English Columbia and Regal masters (AR prefix). By 1934 U. S. Brunswick and Vocalion masters took the place of Columbia and by 1935 most U. S. (and Canadian) material was being drawn from Victor's Bluebird label (OA prefix, and "D" in the late 1940's). By 1940 more masters were coming from U. S. Columbia (LA, H prefix), but generally Bluebird, English AR and Australian material was used up until the end of 1950. From 1951 to its demise in June, 1958 the label was used exclusively for local talent.

Issue dates are shown where known. Unfortunately, full details are not available, except for Australian masters, and the recording dates are given for these. They were usually issued within a couple of months of those dates. Dates on overseas material are the local release dates as shown in the E.M.I. files or on monthly release supplements.

It may be of interest to note the price structure over the years - starting at 3/6 in 1927 this was reduced to 3/- in 1928 and was reduced to 2/6 by 1931, probably due to the effects of the depression on buyers plus competition from cheaper labels. This price was held right up to 1941 when it increased to 2/8. In 1937 the two blocks of transfers from HMV (G23111-G23117 and G23188-G23208), a 4/- label, meant a price reduction of almost half! In 1942 price went up to 2/9, in 1943 to 2/10. This was held until 1947 when it was reduced to 2/7 for some reason. In 1949 it jumped to 3/3, in 1950 to 4/6 and 1951 to 5/6. By 1954 it had risen to 6/8, 1955 to 6/10 and 1956 to 7/2 which was held until production ceased in 1958. All records are made by the Columbia laminated process.

There were several major label changes during the life of the series. Applying mainly to the colours, these are noted at the appropriate places.

Pseudonyms were used on a number of issues featuring American artists. The name used on the original U. S. label is shown in lower case in parentheses. The pseudonyms Howard Boys, and Fox & Wilson were also used on some U. S. issues of the same titles in this list. Other pseudonyms used on both Aust. and U. S. pressings: Bob Clifford is Cliff Carlisle, Joe Smith is Dwight Butcher, Hank is Hand Snow, Frank Tuttle is Frank Luther, Marvin Thompson is Andrew Jenkins, Hobo Jack Turner is Ernest Hare, Al Craver, Mack Allen are both Vernon Dalhart, which in itself is a madeup name, though used on all recordings where an alias wasn't used. Charlie Wells is Carson Robison. Song titles were also changed in a couple of cases (e. g. G20819 and G22211).

Where one side only is listed, the second side features non-country material. Perhaps one or two items such as Roy Evans with piano and the Alpine Yodelling Choir with no accompaniment may best have been left off the numerical but we've decided to leave them in.

This numerical appeared earlier in the New Zealand publication COUNTRY & WESTERN SPOTLIGHT.

<u>Catalog No.</u>	<u>Artist(s)</u>	<u>Master No.</u>	<u>Title</u>
G20005 January 1927	VERNON DALHART	142578-3	There's a New Star in Heaven Tonight, Rudolph Valentino
G20025 August 1927	VERNON DALHART & CARSON J. ROBISON	142310-2 142311-2	Just A Melody When You're Far Away
G20096 March 1928	AL CRAVER & CHARLIE WELLS AL CRAVER	142923-2 142922-3	We Sat Beneath the Maple on the Hill The Fate of Kinnie Wagner
G20123 April 1928	VERNON DALHART	144913-3	The Whole World is Waiting for Dreams to Come True

G20240	DAN HORNSBY TRIO	145171-2 145170-1	Oh Susanna Cubanola Glide
G20264 October 1928	CHRIS BOUCHILLON	145209-2 145208-2	A Bullfight in Mexico Chris Visits the Barber Shop
G20268 October 1928	TRUETT & GEORGE	144742-2 144744-2	Wabash Blues Ghost Dance
G20354 March 1929	AL BERNARD & FRANK KAMPLAIN	141264	Yeedle-Deedle-Lena
G20355 March 1929	ELZIE FLOYD & LEO BOSWELL	143763-2	She's Only a Bird in a Gilded Cage
G20361	VERNON DALHART	146821-2 146822-1	Hallelujah! I'm A Bum (I'm A Tramp) The Bum Song (The Song of the Tramp)
G20377	VERNON DALHART	147089-3 147088-3	Wanderin' Who Said I Was a Bum?
G20406 May 1929	DAN HORNSBY NOVELTY QUARTET	147375-2 147376-1	Oh! By Jingo Has Anybody Here Seen Kelly?
G20413 May 1929	ROY EVANS	146020 146021	Weary Yodelling Blues. pt. 1 Weary Yodelling Blues. pt. 2
G20415	HOBO JACK TURNER	146943-6 146944-5	The Bowery Bum The Bums Rush
G20416 13 Feb 1929	ART LEONARD (Len Maurice)	T731 T732	A Gay Caballero The Big Rock Candy Mountains
G20437	VERNON DALHART	147792-2 147791-3	The Mule Song Sippin' Cider
G20450	NORMAN CLARK	147893-3 147894-2	Carolina Moon Mississippi (Here I Am)
G20464	NORMAN CLARK & HIS SOUTH SEA ISLANDERS	147549-2	Hula Hu
G20483 Sept. 1929	HARRY ROBINSON	A8663 A8662	Cuckoo Song Rocking My Baby to Sleep
G20491 Oct. 1929	PEARCE BROS FRANKIE MARVIN	147844-3 148001-3	Hobo Joe Ridin' On the Elevated Railroad
G20498 9 July 1929	ART LEONARD	T769 T768	Barnacle Bill the Sailor The King of Borneo
G20584 Jan. 1930	ROY EVANS	146529 146528	The New St. Louis Blues My Old Lady Blues
G20590	FRANKIE MARVIN	148838-3	A Happy Go Lucky Boy
G20637 April 1930	ALPINE YODELLING CHOIR	Z28 Z66	The Alp Yodel Song of the Emmenthaler Valley
G20641 April 1930	VERNON DALHART MALCOLM LEGETTE	148841-2 147328-1	My Kentucky Mountain Gal Song of the Tramp
G20642 May 1930	VERNON DALHART & ADELYN HOOD	148660-1	Razors in de Air
G20660 July 1930	VERNON DALHART	148661-2	Dixie Way
G20662	LEO BOSWELL	146082-2 146081-2	The Fatal Rose of Red Two Little Girls in Blue
G20663 Sept. 1930	RILEY PUCKETT	141080-1 140687-2	Send Back my Wedding Ring Wait til the Sun Shines Nellie
G20664	BENNY BORG WALTER MORRIS	143862-1 142080-1	You're Going to Leave the Old Home, Jim, Tonight Take Back Your Gold
G20665	VERNON DALHART	141957-2 142866-3	Old Bill Moser's Ford Crepe on the Little Cabin Door
G20665	BOB NICHOLS & RILEY PUCKETT	143814-2 143813-1	Till We Meet Again Let the Rest of the World Go By

G20666	RILEY PUCKETT	145043-2	Red Wing
July 1930	GID TANNER & HIS SKILLET LICKERS	143019-1	Polly Woodle Do
G20667	McMICHEN'S MELODY MEN	145060-1	Silver Threads Among the Gold
		145059-1	When You and I Were Young, Maggie
G20668	HUGH CROSS & RILEY PUCKETT	145092-1	When You Wore a Tulip
April 1930	CROSS & McCARTT	143931-1	When the Roses Bloom Again
G20669	YOUNG BROTHERS TENNESSEE BAND	145167-2	Are You From Dixie?
		145166-2	Bill Bailey, Won't You Please Come Home
G20670	JOE FOSS & HIS HUNGRY SAND LAPPERS	146030-2	Wee Dog Waltz
		146031-1	Oh! How She Lied
G20688	MACK ALLEN	149475-3	The Whistle Song
		149426-2	Return of the Gay Caballero
G20695	ALPINE YODELLING CHOIR	Z199	Alpine Frolics
July 1930	FRIEDA ZEHNDER	Z196	The Jolly Dairymaids
G20713	FRANKIE MARVIN	149744-3	I Don't Work for a Living
G20724	VERNON DALHART	140595-3	The Picture That is Turned Toward the Wall
Sept. 1930		140932-1	Mother's Grave
G20729	FRANK LUTHER & CARSON	150023-2	His Old Cornet
Oct. 1930	ROBISON	150024-1	Smoky Mountain Bill
G20733	GEORGE PEARCE & FRED GILBERT	AR27	The Yodelling Milkman
		AR28	Carolling Carrie
G20741	MACK ALLEN	148947-3	Swingin' in the Lane
	JACK MATHIS	147621-1	Annie Dear, I'm Called Away
G20753	ALABAMA BARN STORMERS		
Oct. 1930	(McCartt Bros & Patterson)	147242-2	Green Valley Waltz
	(Leake County Revellers)	148324-2	Uncle Ned
G20754	VERNON DALHART	149657-3	Song of the Condemned
		149658-3	Be Careful What You Say
G20771	VERNON DALHART	140966-2	The Curse of an Aching Heart
G20819	THE BROTHERS BERTINI	145683-2	Wedding Chimes [Kentucky Wedding Chimes]
Jan. 1931	(Len & Joe Higgins)	145684-3	Medley of Stephen Foster Songs [Medley of Old Southern Melodies]

(Note: Above bracketed titles are featured on the U. S. issue.)

G20828	ART LEONARD	T1023	The Face on the Barroom Floor
27 Oct. 1930		T1022	They Cut Down the Old Pine Tree
G20830	MACK ALLEN	150413-2	Matrimony Bill
Jan. 1931		150414-2	Don't Marry a Widow
G20898	THE FOUR ACES	150738-3	Moonlight on the Colorado
		150903-4	You'll Never Know Sweetheart
G20900	MACK ALLEN	149785-2	Squint Eyed Cactus Jones
G20943	MACK ALLEN	150495--	Roll Then Clouds Away
June 1931		150496--	Oh, Adam Had 'Em
G20974	THE HAPPY CHAPPIES	149852-1	It's Time to Say Aloha
June 1931	(assisted by The Ramblers)	149838-2	When the Bloom is on the Sage
G21013	THE HAPPY CHAPPIES	149850-2	My Pretty Quadroon
July 1931	(assisted by The Ramblers)	149877-2	Wonder Valley
G21044	MACK ALLEN	150144--	For the First Time in Twenty-Four Years
Aug. 1931	THE REGAL RASCALS	149750-1	Jew's Harp Bill
	(Fields & Hall)		
G21045	FRANK TUTTLE	150493-1	The Old Parlour Organ
G21055	FRANK LUTHER	151546-2	Rocky Mountain Lullaby
Oct. 1931	FRANK LUTHER & CARSON ROBISON	151545-1	When It's Night Time in Nevada

G21078 Sept. 1931	J. UMMEI	Z268 Z269	The Rosebud Yodel The Jungfrau Mountain Yodel
G21090 Oct. 1931	THE HOWARD BOYS (Scottdale String Band) FRANK & JAMES McCRAVY	100540-1 100539-1	Silver Bell In the Shade of the Old Apple Tree
G21094 Oct. 1931	CARSON ROBISON TRIO MARVIN THOMPSON	100536-1 100538-1	Open Up Dem Pearly Gates I Hear Dem Bells
G21102 Nov. 1931	MARVIN THOMPSON MACK ALLEN	100537-1 149791-3	On the Banks of the Old Omaha Eleven More Months and Ten More Days
G21106 Nov. 1931	VERNON DALHART (recorded in London, U.K. 1 April 1931)	AR595 AR593	Get Away Old Man, Get Away The Runaway Train
G21115	CARSON ROBISON TRIO	150890-2 150891-3	Oklahoma Charley Leave the Purty Gals Alone
G21139	ALABAMA BARNSTORMERS (Leake County Revellers)	147625-2 147628-2	Birds in the Brook Magnolia Waltz
G21146 Dec. 1931	FRANK LUTHER & CARSON ROBISON	150996-2 150995-2	Sleepy Hollow My Heart is Where the Mohawk Flows Tonight
G21147 April 1931	MOUTH ORGAN BAND (Murphy Bros Harp Band)	151022-2 151023-1	Little Bunch of Roses Downfall of Paris
G21198 Feb. 1932	FREIDEL LUSSER	A11635 A11632	Cuckoo in the Wood Tyrolean Yodeler
G21221 March 1932	TONY WOOD & GIRLIE WATT	AR130 AR133	Yodelling Lullaby Strawberries & Cream
G21231 May 1932	FRANK LUTHER & CARSON ROBISON	151819-2 151820-4	Silvery Arizona Moon When You're Alone (Try to Remember Me)
G21286 Sept. 1932	JAMES EGAN TED ELLSWORTH	112165-4 AR926	Amber Tresses Tied in Blue You'll Never Miss Your Mother Till She's Gone
G21303 Nov. 1932	VERNON DALHART	142579-3	I Lost a Wonderful Pal When I Lost You
G21315 June 1932	HARRY TORRANI	AR773 AR776	Happy and Free Yodel Honeymoon Yodel
G21332 Aug. 1932	ERNEST HARE	152067-3 152068-3	Twenty One Years (pt 2) Fifty Years Repentin'
G21333 July 1932	DOUGLAS & DOUGLAS	AR969 AR968	Twenty One Years The Dying Mountaineer
G21356 Aug. 1932	CARSON ROBISON & FRANK LUTHER CARSON ROBISON TRIO	130733-- 151821-2	Pals of the Little Red School In the Cumberland Mountains
G21370 Aug. 1932	THREE GEORGIAN CRACKERS	151165-2 151159-3	Whoa, Buck, Whoa I've Been Hoodooed
G21372 Sept. 1932	CARSON ROBISON & FRANK LUTHER CARSON ROBISON TRIO	151822-2 563063-1	Missouri Valley When It's Springtime In the Blue Ridge Mountains
[Note: At this point the large, approx. 3½" across, label was reduced in size to around 3" and this size was retained right through to the end of the series. Further pressings of earlier issues used this smaller label.]			
G21394 Oct. 1932	HARRY TORRANI	AR1140-1 AR1139-1	Mississippi Yodel Mammy's Yodel
G21404 Sept. 1932	HARRY TORRANI	AR876-1 AR775-3	Hear the Yodeler The Cuckoo Yodel
G21428 Oct. 1932	THREE GEORGIAN CRACKERS	151168-2 151167-2	Hannah, My Love Why Did They Dig Ma's Grave So Deep?

G21447	CARSON ROBISON & HIS	AR1213-1	Peg Leg Jack
Nov. 1932	PIONEERS	AR1211-2	Cross Eyed Sue
G21448	CARSON ROBISON & HIS	AR1215-1	The Engineers Child
Nov. 1932	PIONEERS		
	CARSON ROBISON & FRANK	152147--	The Tree That Stands by the Road
	LUTHER		
<i>(Note: Carson Robison 'AR' masters were recorded in U. K. in 1932.)</i>			
G21461	WESTBROOK GOSPEL PLAYERS	152025-1	The Old Rugged Cross
Nov. 1932	AND SOLOIST	152023-1	Tell Mother I'll be There
	(Westbrook Conservatory		
	Players)		
G21469	VERNON DALHART & CARSON	145965-3	Bring Me a Leaf From the Sea
	ROBISON	145964-3	Drifting Down the Trail of Dreams
G21470	VERNON DALHART	141497-2	Down on the Farm
		141498-2	My Mothers Old Red Shawl
G21475	ALABAMA BARNSTORMERS	145101-2	Darling Nellie Gray
	(McMichen's Melody Men)		
	(Leake County Revellers)	151120-3	A Picture No Artist Can Paint
G21476	VERNON DALHART & CARSON	146383-2	Steamboat Keep Rockin'
	ROBISON		
	VERNON DALHART	146382-3	Climbing Up De Golden Stairs
G21477	FRANK LUTHER & CARSON	150686-1	Carry Me Back to the Mountains
	ROBISON		
	CARSON ROBISON TRIO	150999-2	I'm Gettin' Ready to Go
G21478	CARSON ROBISON & HIS	AR1210-2	Polly Wolly Doodle
	PIONEERS	AR1214-1	Meet Me Tonight in the Valley
G21492	HARRY TORRANI	AR1265-1	Yodeler's Dream Girl
Dec. 1932		AR1266-1	Yodel All Day
G21498	JOHNNY MARVIN	152112--	Seven Come Eleven
Jan. 1933		152114--	I'm Gonna Yodel My Way to Heaven
G21509	DAN HORNSBY & HIS LION'S	152016-1	A Sailor's Sweetheart
Dec. 1932	DEN TRIO	152017-1	Three Blind Mice
G21511	AARON SISTERS	152236-2	Oh! Mo'nah!
Jan. 1933	(with The Song-O-Pators)	152235-2	Old Man of the Mountain
G21532	HARRY TORRANI	AR1483-1	The Gypsy Yodel
		AR1482-1	The Water Mill Yodel
G21554	ART LEONARD	T1235	Weeping Willow Tree
29 Nov. 1932		T1233	A Picture From Life's Other Side
G21555	ART LEONARD	T1232	The Red River Valley
29 Nov. 1932		T1234	Can I Sleep in Your Barn Tonight, Mister?
G21556	REGAL HILLBILLY SINGERS	151974-1	Try Not to Forget
March 1933	(Merritt Smith & Leo	151972-1	My Heart's Turned Back to Dixie
	Boswell)		
G21557	CLAUDE DAVIS TRIO	152006-1	I Don't Want Your Gold or Silver
Jan. 1933	JOHNNY GATES	150542-1	Don't Leave Mother Alone
G21558	WANNER & JENKINS	151922-1	A Sweetheart's Promise
March 1933		151923-2	When the Dew is on the Rose
G21566	AL CRAVER	147052-2	The Old Bureau Drawer
March 1933		147051-1	A Blind Girl's Conversation with Death
G21593	REGAL HILLBILLY SINGERS	149316-1	Honolulu Moon
	(McMichen's Melody Men)	149317-2	When Clouds Have Vanished
G21644	HARRY TORRANI	AR1599-1	My Swiss Miss Yodel
		AR1600-1	Mexican Yodel

(Note: From this point on the label became Regal Zonophone. Those of the earlier issues that were re-pressed also used the 'new' label. This was the dark green, gold, red and white label. The April supplement is Regal; the May supplement is Regal Zonophone.)

G21659	ALABAMA BARN STORMERS		
June 1933	(Elzie Floyd & Leo Boswell	143767-1	The Two Orphans
	(Tom Darby & Jimmie	149309-1	Little Bessie
	Tarleton)		
G21702	HARRY TORRANI	AR1734-1	Dan, Dan the Yodelling Man
Aug. 1933		AR1733-1	Sitting in a Jailhouse
G21758	TWO BARNSTORMERS	T1267	Wildflower Waltz
19 July 1933		T1266	Mary Jane Waltz
G21763	HARRY TORRANI	AR1893-1	Australian Yodel
Oct. 1933		AR1894-1	Highland Yodel
G21835	CARSON ROBISON TRIO	365074-1	Home on the Range
		150492-1	Why are the Young Folks so Thoughtless?
G21843	FRANK & JAMES McCRAVY	150148-1	No More Dying
Nov. 1933	THE HILLBILLY SINGERS	T1285	When I Get to the End of the Way
	(Len Maurice)		

(Note: Recording date for T1285 is 18 October 1933.)

G21852	HARRY TORRANI	AR1976-1	Yodelling Rag Man
		AR1977-1	Gambling Darkie Yodel
G21860	SINGING MOUNTAINEERS	AR2311-1	The Last Roundup
April 1934		AR2312-1	The Prisoners Song
G21864	TOM DARBY & JIMMIE TARLTON	150251-2	My Father Died a Drunkard
Jan. 1934		150265-2	Faithless Husband
G21948	HARRY TORRANI	AR2201-1,3	The Roaming Yodeller
May 1934		AR2358-1	Yodelling Boy

(Note: There is a considerable difference in the two takes of AR2201.)

G21966	SINGING MOUNTAINEERS	AR2418-1	Prairie Lullaby
June 1934		AR2419-1	Home on the Range
G21977	GLEN RICE & HIS BEVERLY	B12471	When I Was a Boy From the Mountains
	HILL BILLIES	SF2A	Swiss Yodel
G21981	GLEN RICE & HIS BEVERLY	SF3A	The Big Corral
April 1934	HILL BILLIES	SF4A	Whoopie Ti Yi Yo Git Along Little Dogies
G21982	GLEN RICE & HIS BEVERLY	SF12A	Ridge Runnin' Roan
April 1934	HILL BILLIES	SF13A	Lonesome Valley
G22015	SINGING MOUNTAINEERS	AR2472-1	The Old Rugged Cross
		AR2473-1	Throw Out The Life Line
G22039	SINGING MOUNTAINEERS	AR2543-1	The Buggy Song
		AR2544-1	The Belle of the Blue Ridge
G22059	ROY HARPER & EARL SHIRKEY	148134-1	The Cowboy's Lullaby
July 1934		148138-2	Kitty Waltz Yodel
G22060	FRANK & JAMES McCRAVY	150163-3	I Love You in the Same Old Way (Darling Sue)
		150164-1	Don't Forget to Drop a Line to Mother
G22062	THE HILL BILLIES	AR2595-1	The Night Herding Song
		AR2558-2	West Bound Freight
G22095	W. LEE O'DANIEL & HIS	C622	Blue Bonnet Waltz
Aug. 1934	LIGHT CRUST DOUGHBOYS		
G22121	VERNON DALHART & ADELYN	B15120	In the Valley of Yesterday
Aug. 1934	VERNON DALHART HOOD	B15121	The Old Covered Bridge
G22122	FRANK LUTHER'S ROCKY	B15160	Seven Years With the Wrong Man
Aug. 1934	MOUNTAIN RANGERS	B15157	Seven Years With the Wrong Woman

TO BE CONTINUED

FILM REVIEW

BOUND FOR GLORY: Produced by Robert F. Blumofe and Harold Leventhal; directed by Hal Ashby; photographed by Haskell Wexler; music adapted and arranged by Leonard Roseman; screenplay by Robert Getchell based on the autobiography by Woody Guthrie; cast: David Carradine, Ronny Cox, Melinda Dillon, Gail Strickland, Randy Quaid. Released by United Artists.

Bound for Glory is a film of some interest to students of hillbilly music in that it purports to be based on the life and music of Woodrow Wilson (Woody) Guthrie. Guthrie has been a significant figure on the American scene since the late 1930s; his repertoire, compositions, and performing style deriving in great part from his affiliation with the 'Okies,' a folklife group of refugees from the dust bowl of the mid 1930s who share the tradition of the southeastern United States.

Cinematically, *Bound for Glory* is a successful film whose virtues I shall describe below. Which virtues do not include fidelity to the facts of Woody Guthrie's life, or, in some cases, to the forms of 'hillbilly' music.

The story takes Guthrie from dust-blighted Pampa, Texas, in 1936, through the hobo jungles and migrant camps of the Depression to eventual appearances on local radio in Los Angeles, California, a year or so later. Along the way we witness his struggle with family responsibilities and watch the growth of his social consciousness and radical commitment. Finally, the conflict between his dedication to the interests of himself and 'the folks' as opposed to those of his wife, children and most potential employers is resolved by separation, termination, and departure for New York at the story's end.

The film is visually stunning, thanks to a combination of competent photography and outstanding art direction and casting. The assemblage of people, places and things before which the story plays is a colorful depiction of the splendid squalor of California in the 30s. The editing, lighting, sound and other technical aspects of the production are up to the usual Hollywood standard so frequently undervalued. Taken purely as images, some of the settings and faces found in *Bound for Glory* remind me of the work of Dorothea Lang and Walker Evans, two outstanding photographers of America's depression. This alone justifies seeing the film.

The film does indulge in a bit of political cartooning, however, pitting the pure-hearted migrant workers against the vicious, exploitative growers. As in many of Hollywood's attempts to recreate the past, the background is true to the times even when the foreground action is distorted to conform to the political, social or romantic stereotypes of the present.

The film uses music in two distinct ways: first, some music comes from the scene presented to us. This music should be consistent with the aesthetic of that scene. Second, some of the music is conventional 'film music' designed to please the aesthetic of the viewing audience. Film music consists of musical passages of varying lengths intended to highlight certain visual effects by emphasis or counterpoint. In *Bound for Glory* these are frequently orchestral arrangements of musical themes already established in the story. I accept such adaptation of Guthrie's music in this context because it is conventional and it works.

The depiction of music in the story itself, unfortunately, is not always accurate. Those songs played by duos, trios, or full string bands (as are "Hard Travellin'," "Oklahoma Hills," and "Deportees") are a reasonable facsimile of hillbilly music. Ronny Cox, who appears in the film as a radio singer called 'Ozark,' has in the past played in the coffee-house circuit and shows considerable talent as an interpretative folk singer.

David Carradine's solo efforts on such songs as "This Land is Your Land," "Curly-Headed Baby" and "Pastures of Plenty" are marred by his use of a highly dramatic delivery and a guitar style which, for want of a better term, I call the 'folksinger's strum.' This coffee-house style is totally foreign to the aesthetic of Guthrie's music. Since the film contains examples of group playing to which Carradine adds more than adequate guitar and vocals, I am forced to conclude that despite knowing better, the director, Hal Ashby, encouraged or permitted him to adopt this style.

In this vein, it is poignant to note that Guthrie's voice is used only once in the film. As the end credits roll, a number of his friends, disciples, and imitators render verses of "This Land is Your Land." One verse, its appearance unnoted, is performed by Woody himself. His style, pure over-

overalls and brogan shoes, nasal, understated, much the same at the end as at the beginning of his musical odyssey, is the constant thread which binds his history together. His musical values were probably assumed by the film producers to be unmarketable to a mass audience today just as Woody's voice and delivery were a similar embarrassment to some of his radical sponsors in the forties.

The great flaw in the film is its failure to depict the Woody Guthrie embodied in his published work, recordings, and fund of anecdote his passage generated in the left-intellectual folksong revival communities. The period covered in the story was a most significant one for Guthrie. At its beginning, he was a member of a regional folk-like group, and at its end he was an important component of a significant national movement. The film suggests a raising of his consciousness in the manner in which events seem to force him out of Texas, while his final departure from Los Angeles for New York is a definite matter of choice. The filmmakers have, however, considerably simplified the story. They give no hint that Woody might be more intellectual and less a rube than he permitted many people to believe. There is considerable evidence in his autobiography, *Bound for Glory*, and elsewhere that Woody almost completed high school and spent much of the next several years consuming books by the score. Woody was well acquainted with the important ideas of the western intellectual tradition, but that didn't cut much ice in his situation so he gave what was expected of him.

I suspect from the tragic facts of his childhood and youth, and from the emotional color of his autobiography, that Woody was fully occupied keeping one jump ahead of his personal demons. Being hugely talented made it possible to keep despair at arm's length in the writing of defiantly positive songs. If his audience wished him to be an instinctive 'Hillybilly' poet, he'd give them the best damn 'Hillybilly' poet they ever heard.

Dick Reuss, in his article "Woody Guthrie and his Folk Tradition," describes how Woody and various audiences discovered one another over the years.¹ Woody was sensitive to the expectations of these different groups and tried for the most part to live up (or down) to them. This complex movement does not come through in the film. Woody is presented as a relaxed, good hearted soul moved here and there by external forces who occasionally goes off the deep end.

Even Woody, in his autobiography, does not level with us about the wife and kids he left behind in Pampa, Texas in 1937. Such information had no place in a book which was part of his attempt to be a 'people's' artist' as conceived by the east coast radicals to whom he was playing at the time. Woody was seen by many in his later audiences of left intellectuals as a kind of 'noble savage' - a figure of simplicity and virtue much like the "masses" whose lot they were determined to improve. Woody was never simple and his virtue is debatable.

Pete Seeger, in a recent issue of the music newspaper *Rolling Stone* (10 March 1977) closes the debate about Guthrie's politics. Seeger says that Woody was a communist but that some of his mystical religious ideas so upset the party that it would never grant him membership. Stalinism being currently unfashionable, the filmmakers deftly give us a brand new version of Woody, the noble savage. His politics in the film could be described as early S.D.S. humanitarianism (talking rather than trashing). Ronnie Cox said recently on radio station KPFK-FM, Los Angeles, that his character, Ozark, is a composite based on the singer Cisco Huston, the actor Will Geer, and the radical Ed Robbin, all of whom influenced Woody during this time. In the film, Woody follows Ozark out of the migrant camps into the radio station and into radical politics without question. There is no suggestion that Woody had any political convictions to start with, though, in fact, Woody was already something of a cause-oriented radical when Ed Robbin introduced him to the 'left' after hearing his radio program.

Presenting the complicated Woody Guthrie rather than the 'noble savage' would have been risky. The film would have been very different, possibly much richer and much better. But perhaps the audience would not have liked that Woody the way they take to this 'swell guy' Woody. A friend suggests that Carradine as Woody is much like many Gary Cooper characters. Perhaps. I don't believe Woody Guthrie was anything like Gary Cooper, and by simplifying him the filmmaker has cheapened his message. Woody's life has taught me that great talent and a fine man can accompany irresponsibility and that art can serve as a shield against despair. You won't learn that from the film *Bound for Glory*, but if you don't expect more than it has to offer, the film is well worth your attention. I recommend it.

FOOTNOTE

¹ *Journal of American Folklore* 83 (July-Sept. 1970), 273-303.

---Mike Hall
Los Angeles

BOOK REVIEWS

COAL MINER'S DAUGHTER, by Loretta Lynn with George Vecsey, a Bernard Geis Associates Book (Chicago: Henry Regnery Company, 1976; paperback edition by Warner Books), 204 pp. with photos and index, \$7.95; paperback (256 pp.), \$1.95.

Over the past fifteen years Loretta Lynn has become one of the more important figures in country music, recognized not only as a great singer, but as a highly creative song writer. The Country Music Association (CMA) has awarded her more honors than any other recording artist. She was the first woman to be named Entertainer of the Year (1971) by that organization, and the first female singer in country music to win a gold record. Because of the lyrics of certain songs (e. g., "Don't Come Home A-Drinkin' With Lovin' on Your Mind," "Rated-X," "The Pill"), she has earned the reputation of being something of a feminist protester in the country music world. More than those of any other singer her songs have "struck home" to the women of that audience, an audience essentially working class, to which she herself is proud to belong. She is able to put into words what these women feel (even if they dare not speak out) about their relationships with their husbands, and she sings with a spirit and enthusiasm which all can admire. As she says:

There's plenty of songs about how women should stand by their men and give them plenty of loving when they walk through the door, and that's fine. But what about the man's responsibility?....No woman likes to be told, "Here's the deal."

Her many recordings--hit after hit--are thus notable not only for the vitality and zest of her singing, but for the frankness of subject matter and the topics she treats.

A biography, especially an autobiography, of such a performer, written at what is presumably the very peak of her career, is of obvious interest not only to her immediate audience, but to students of country music in general.

Ms. Lynn is dedicated to reaching her audience and presenting material that she regards as honest and direct. Therefore, when she decided to set down various recollections, she resolved to do so in a manner and style as straightforward as her songs. She does not disappoint us. However, this is not a "scholarly" account. It is not even remotely intended as such. It is written for, and directed to those who have given her the support all performers need--her fans. We must never lose sight of this fact. She is *not* writing for the members of *JEMF*, but for the millions of people, especially women, who buy her albums and singles by the carload, and who flock to her concerts. She writes what she feels will be of deepest interest to them. It is an account honest almost to a fault, full of anecdotes and comments about her life with her husband, incidents on the road, relationships with her children, and confrontations with her fans. Such details are, frankly, of somewhat less interest to this reviewer than certain other topics she might have emphasized. I would have appreciated more discussion about the development of her musical aesthetic and of her musical experiences, especially those during childhood. She does go into this to a degree, but not enough. However, this is admittedly a difficult area to recall and relate, and perhaps she felt it would not be of sufficient interest to the majority of her readers.

The style of narration is easy going and genuinely conversational. According to her description she "talked" to writer, George Vecsey, who then "put the words together right." Vecsey is a *New York Times* reporter and author. His other works include *One Sunset a Week*, a documentary about the life of a coal miner, and *Joy in Mudville*. "Putting the words together right" presumably means that Vecsey organized the bulk of the material. Then, after compilation, she went over every word with him, "and if I didn't think it was true, out it went." A deliberate attempt was made to retain some of the flavor of her Kentucky dialect--using such contractions and idiomatic spellings as "ain't," "holler," "gonna," etc., as well as grammatical and syntactical idiosyncrasies. This she insisted upon, and I think wisely, for the result is very readable and enjoyable, and is told with good humor.

(It) starts at the beginning and keep(s) going from Butcher Holler, where I was born, to Hurricane Mills (Tenn.) where I live now...about the good times and the bad times in my life.

Her life represents a classic example of the American success story, a story admittedly not too

common, but one which does happen; and which demonstrates that every so often a person of unusual strength, talent, and charisma can overcome extremely adverse circumstances of background, education, and economic deprivation. She was born during the depression in Butcher Holler, Kentucky, one of eight children of Melvin and Clara Webb. They experienced all the hardships and the grinding poverty suffered by coal miners and their families during that especially bleak decade of the 1930s. She married at thirteen, and was a mother within a year. It is only fair to note that her marriage was opposed by both her parents, who not only disapproved of Doolittle Lynn as a son-in-law, but felt that she was entirely too young for such responsibilities. By the age of eighteen she had four children, and later, two others, twins. She writes of this time in her life:

Somehow I managed to get through those years with all those babies. I don't know how I did it. When you're young everything is exciting.

Early in their marriage they moved to the state of Washington. Doolittle was not happy with the prospect of being a miner, and felt he would have more success as a farmer. It was there, when she was twenty-four, that she decided to become a singer, or rather Doolittle decided she should. Ms. Lynn's account of her beginning as a professional singer and recording artist is especially engaging. After performing at local clubs and fairs, she was given some financial backing from one Mr. Norman Burley, a businessman in the lumber industry, and was able to have a record cut. The song, "Honky Tonk Girl," was one she had written. For distribution she and her husband made a list of country music stations all over the country, and simply mailed copies of the record, with a photo portrait of Ms. Lynn, to the DJ's and program directors. The photograph, which was taken by Doolittle, is especially charming, and doubtless a major reason why the record was even listened to at those stations, and not consigned to the rubbish can as so often happens with non-studio promoted recordings from unknown artists. But it was listened to, and it was played, and it became a hit. Since then her career has been a more or less steady climb towards "stardom," where today she is regarded as "the queen of country music."

Now this book, while of interest to her fans and to those concerned with contemporary country music, is of significance for still another reason. Like her songs it is a devastating commentary on the relationship of men and women, not only in her immediate social milieu, but in this culture as a whole. Upon first reading it seems that Ms. Lynn unfortunately accepts many of the values and attitudes against which she protests so strongly in her songs. It would appear that she is not really a rebel after all, and that she has permitted herself to be generally dominated by men--her father, her husband, her manager, and so on:

Sometimes my husband tells me, "I raised you the way I wanted you to be." And it's true. I went from Daddy to Doo, and there's always been a man telling me what to do. (Emphasis added.)

There are many illustrations of this deference to men. It was Doolittle who made the initial decision that she become a singer, a good decision, true, but not primarily hers. And today, when she is a success, she is still restrained by those about her.

It's really kind of funny, I've worked all my life and now I'm in a spot where men tell me how to run my business, and when I go home other people tell me how to run my home...

Her lyrics, and even her singing style, are carefully scrutinized and have been judged by moral standards not similarly applied to men. While recording "Wings Upon Your Horns," for Decca, Owen Bradley, who was conducting the session, took exception to a break in phrasing, "You're the only one to make me--fall in love and then not take me." Now that is an old standard verbal break, and although Ms. Lynn claims ignorance of its' being "suggestive," it is usually used for that effect. The issue here is, since other singers have relied upon that entendre, why shouldn't she? Why not indeed? Well, she insisted upon doing so, and the record was a hit. It may be unfortunate that she has not always been so determined in matters pertaining to her career, for on other occasions she has "gone along" with those who advise her, and we will never know whether the outcomes would be total failures or extraordinary triumphs. For example, she once conceived the idea of an all female band.

All the bands and studio musicians are men, just about. And you know there're women around that can play just as good as men.

She planned on having tryouts, and the group would be called "The Lynnettes." However, certain "people" (just who is not stated), told her that this would be most unwise:

....you can't have a traveling girl band--if you had one incident, people would start gossiping about it. It was that old double standard again....And it wouldn't be good for business if that kind of stuff got started. So we hired an all-man band, and I ain't been sorry to this date because I love my boys. But an all-girl band would have been fantastic.

Ms. Lynn's life therefore has been greatly shaped and directed by the men around her. But this is changing, and it is this change which is so exciting to read about. Not only is she a spirited,

intelligent woman, she is growing, and is becoming a truly independent person. This is the case both in her personal life and in her career. She observes this herself:

All that is changing. I'm not the bashful little girl I was fifteen years ago, when my only dream was a comfortable home for my family. In those days, if Doolittle disappeared for a day or two, I just accepted it. I got mad--but I accepted it. I'm different today, I refuse to be pushed around anymore.

As for objections against her songs, "Wings Upon My Horns" was the last song Owen Bradley objected to. More experienced about what songs will sell, she no longer bothers to clear them with anyone, she just shows up at the studio and records them. The decision, in 1975, to release what has been one of her most famous hits, "The Pill," was apparently hers. She had recorded it three years before, but held it back fearing that people would not accept it. When released, it was women who made it a hit, and she recognizes that men feel threatened by it. Significantly she does not care that they do.

See, they'll play a song about making love in a field because that's sexy from the man's point of view. But something really important to women, like birth control, they don't want no part of it, leastways not on the air.

The song, "Coal Miner's Daughter" (1971), a tribute to her father and her family, is one of the songs of which she is most proud, although she doubted it would become a hit and was very surprised when it did. By making her familiar to a larger audience it was this record that led to her receiving the Entertainer of the Year award. However, she regards its importance to be in the fact that it demonstrates that she can write about other topics than marriage problems.

The picture emerges of a woman struggling to break free not only of societal restraints, but of an image imposed upon her partly by well-meaning advisers, and partly by herself. It is a picture of the development of a woman who, having overcome the handicap of early poverty, is now overcoming the handicaps created by the good intentions of others and by her own insecurity. It is a story which should be especially inspiring and provocative for those women for whom she is fully aware that she is a symbol of success and achievement, and for whom she has always consciously spoken. Not to be overlooked is the fact that she has done all this without alienating the men in her audience or in her private life--and that in itself is no mean achievement.

She now looks towards the future with considerable assurance, with much tighter control over her own life.

That's where the book ends folks. I can't give you the entire Loretta Lynn story because I'm positive there's more to come. You just watch.

---Sally F. O'Connor
Los Angeles, California

STARS OF COUNTRY MUSIC edited by Bill C. Malone and Judith McCulloh (Urbana: University of Illinois Press); xii+476 pp., illustrated; cloth \$10.00.

Clearly, precisely, the writing is on the wall: Country Music Scholarship is in trouble. Strange, too, that it should be occurring now, now that we have fought many battles for respectability, for space in the journals, for positions at national meetings. Stranger too that it should come in this year when national interest in country music is at an all time high. But we are unable to focus on larger goals, do the big work; we rest on laurels from the past and minutiae.

A dozen years have passed since the "country music" issue of the *JAF*; what a groundbreaker that was. Realistically, some of the best writing ever done on country music appeared then. Names we were to read time and again first talked about bluegrass, Gid Tanner, the word "hillbilly." The *JEMF Newsletter* appeared, became a *Quarterly*. *Bluegrass Unlimited* took a lead from *Blues Unlimited* and started writing about a then cult music which has reached proportions that are unthinkable in retrospect. County Records, Rounder, half a dozen other companies from as far away as Germany and Japan began doing a distinctly different type of aural scholarship which again in retrospect, none of us ever expected. (The Japanese issue of many of the Carter Family tunes sits in its box of ten lps with neat Japanese notes.) The Country Music Foundation is now at work. Friends in high places have put country music into festivals so much that a Wilbur Ball is a commonplace having superseded the Theo Bikel. In short, we are no longer step-children, bastard or otherwise. But how have we handled the transition from outsider to core member? Poorly.

Several years ago I made the fervent wish that country music scholarship would not follow the path of blues research: discography and rediscovery. Well, it has and it hasn't. *Old Time Music* is filled with "Look! I Discovered, Still Living, the Mediocre Brothers!" The *JEMFQ* is running part LXIX of the preliminary Dahhart discography; meanwhile a complete discography of the so-called golden

age (1922-40) remains at least a decade away from completion. Not all is bad; out of all the activity has come divergent points of view, divergent interests, and many times a dissipation of energy and knowledge for admittedly second and third rate words: Bob Artis' *Bluegrass* is a very fine minor work on bluegrass. But the time is long past for the peripheral, the casual, the slovenly, the "legend" ridden, and the just plain poorly done works. Simply stated, country music scholarship at this point is a sad combination of the chronological and cheapshot psychology with a tinge of the Leslie Riddle taught A. P. Carter who influenced Johnny Cash who got Kristopherson the demo or Arnold Schultz taught Ike Everly who learned Uncle Pen everything he knows so that Bill Monroe is now king of bluegrass. Teetot showed young Hank Williams how to play the guitar and how to sing the blues although Hank was always a drinker. Outside of this, Roy Acuff sings "Wabash Cannon Ball" and Dolly Parton, although she has big breasts, is still a good composer. *Stars* keeps up these same tired legends and the seemingly endless stream of tired old facts, and let's look at the "good ole boys" and ain't it a shame about women in country music type of writing which is better suited for *Parade Magazine* than for serious readers about a music we love and a culture that needs exploration rather than travelogues.

Bill C. Malone gave us the first full length study of country music with his *Country Music: A Fifty Year History*. Now, along with Judith McCulloh he has given us a second serving, this time hash, by editing *Stars*, a book that was not needed and is in addition a weak, poor work indeed. I have been told that the work was hastily assembled to meet a deadline: no one needed to tell me. Problematic with any book is the definition of its subject matter; at no real or imagined point are we informed just what a "star" is in country music. Looking at the table of contents, one cannot tell as well. Certain inclusions are definitely not "stars," although at times they are interesting performers: Flatt and Scruggs, and Bradley Kincaid. Some are not interesting, such as Vernon Dalhart and Johnny Rodriguez, which all goes to show that "studyable" performers such as the Carter Family or Tom T. Hall were automatically equated with "the best." Bill Anderson, I suspect, sells as many records and makes as many personal appearances as Hall, and yet Mr. Sincerity is mentioned but once, and that in passing. We might well ask where are the Wilburn Brothers? Arthur Smith? The Everlys? The Louvins? Well, not here. There is a reason for this seeming schizophrenia, and that is this book is not a scholarly work, although it is edited by a respected historian and is published by a university press. It is basically a combination of "professors, journalists, and fans," though I could not tell, except by looking in the contributor's listing, who was whom. There is no focus in the book other than a random collection of individuals writing in a random way about a diverse music covering a period of fifty plus years in less than 450 pages. In many ways the book is no better than the *Encyclopedia of Country Music*.

Norm Cohen starts the book with a study of some recording pioneers--although they themselves were introducing new forms such as the string band: Charlie Poole, Henry Whitter, Gid Tanner, Carl Sprague, John Carson, and Ernest Stoneman. Dr. Cohen has written before of these performers and at more length. But if new insights are not produced, at least he codifies some interesting questions about these pioneers. Why did Eck Robertson and Henry Gilliland go to N. Y. in the first place? Also, Cohen's very cogent research into sales of country music records should squash some of the myths about million sellers (It hasn't, as Walt Hadden's paeon to the lacklustre Vernon Dalhart shows.) Cohen also looks to the outside sources for the emergence of problems such as the Petrillo ban and the changing of record configurations--although as I remember, country music audiences paid little attention to James Petrillo or the newer 45s until they were already established. I doubt his assertion that John Carson worked much for Herman Talmage since the Talmage *films* was a fledgling politician in the late 40s and Carson had long since run his elevator as a sinecure in Georgia's capital building. However, the lead article is the best in the book.

Just about as good, however, is William Ivey's account of Chet Atkins, superpicker. Restraint with insight marks a very full account of the man who almost singlehandedly created the Nashville sound. Ivey recounts a career that was far from golden in its early and middle years and hardly upwards in its direction. Atkins is the enigma: at once one of the most talented of country musicians and yet one who never seems to take his art seriously. Ivey correctly traces the influences of Atkins to include Travis, Lang, and Reinhardt. Too often critics and writers think country music exists in a musical vacuum. Ivey writes intelligently and with verve about an illusionary figure who refuses to be pinned down.

Doug Green's impassioned piece on Gene Autry is also worthwhile, although Green has the disturbing tendency to write basically the same piece for several publications. He points out--rightly--that Autry was a true and genuine star and for very good reasons. This may well be the first serious consideration of Autry as a country music figure in contemporary country writing.

Tom T. Hall's inclusion as a star, I question. He's a fair to middling song writer, a competent performer, but a star? He is, however, a liberal's dream, and William Martin writes about Hall using a very effective cut and paste form of journalism with Hall's own comments standing out and tying the whole article together. As far as basic writing skills, Martin is head and shoulders above his comrades in the volume. He ties together obscure facts--Hall went to Roanoke College--with saltier comments by Hall himself.

Paul Hemphill who has made a career out of explaining us Southerners to the rest of the world once more writes about ole Merle. Everything is here that is needed: Haggard's biographical details, nuances, sociological and recording information. Better things have been written about Haggard--but Hemphill does a good *apologia pro opera sua* for both "Irma Jackson" and "Fightin' Side of Me," Hoss.

Townsend Miller writes appreciatively of Ernest Tubb with aplomb. He effectively points out Tubb's changing the face and body of country music. D. K. Wilgus writes succinctly of Bradley Kincaid. Ralph Rinzler does a less than creditable job with Bill Monroe, but perhaps he is saving his forces for the upcoming informal biography. Neil Rosenberg's "Flatt and Scruggs" sheds no new light and is not even honest about the breakup of the band. If we can so carefully document the start of a band, why can't we be equally careful about the dissolving? Malone and Malone worked together on "Johnny Rodriguez" which has its built-in faults. Rodriguez has already switched to a middle of the road popular sound and has gone the ways of the flash-panned Charlie Rich and Freddy Fender as a "star" of country music, which brings to mind Andy Warhol's statement that in the future, we will all be stars for 15 minutes.

None of the articles is downright bad or embarrassing, although Ann Malone's work on Charlie Pride comes close. She tends to mix the folklore of the time with reality. I wonder if she or anyone really believes that someone suggested Pride be renamed George Washington Carver III in an era of Martin Luther King and Selma and the Freedom Singers? But what does she mean by quoting Bill Ferris' "These here folks...don't like fiddling. Delta colored folks they don't like this sort of music...."? According to Ferris, blacks in the Delta area were quoted as referring to white music as "trash." Is this any different from the White Citizen's council's demeaning black music as being "idiotic jungle rhythms"? And yet in the same breath, she writes of "co-mingling music styles." Along the way, she re-unearths several of last year's myths about DeFord Bailey. I get the distinct impression that Ms. Malone does not have a high opinion of Charlie Pride as a "good nigra" (her words--not mine), and in fact she devotes little time to or energy to Pride as a performer or as an artist. The article is riffled through with questionable material.

Equally bad when considered in the light of objectivity is Dorothy Horstman's "Loretta Lynn." Her general comments upon women and country music are outrageous:

Jobs, after all, were rare in the depression South, and women (except easy women), married young, worked hard and long, and hoped for strong sons to help share the family load.

After this wonderful piece of insight all female country singers are dismissed until Kitty Wells. Martha Carson, Cousin Emmy, Rose Maddox, and Wilma Cooper? Just mentioned in passing. Further, we are told about Loretta Lynn: "Her wit is sharp and to the point, placing her well above the "bumpkin" level of so many female singers...." Bumpkin? Jesse Coulter, Lynn Anderson Sammi Smith, Dolly Parton, Connie Smith, Donna Fargo, Jodi Miller, and Barbi Benton as bumpkins? Not only is Ms. Horstman's consciousness below the minus zero level, she ain't even thinking straight. Hey, the book is worthwhile, for once more we are told of the salt in the pie episode, and that's worth a good \$9.50 in itself. But the Loretta Lynn I know as a warm person, highly talented does not come through in this piece. In fact, the article is an insult.

A book has a solidarity about it,--authority, because most people who buy or use books are inexperienced in field and wish to know more about subjects and go to the printed page as an explicator, a *raison d'être*. Except for the full length works, which are few on artists such as Cash, Wills, and Atkins, *Stars of Country Music* will become no doubt an arbiter of knowledge and taste for future generations and future scholarship. With its mass printing, the misinformation and crazed glazing of some very important figures will become "fact" and start reappearing to haunt us again and again and again. Unless one of the newer writers from a more honest form of scholar-journalism (such as Jonathan Gott of *Rolling Stone*) applies the skill, knowledge, and sensitivity needed for an in-depth study of our nation's most basic and exciting music, we are going to be left with only works such as *Stars* as the apex of our knowledge and interpretations.

This book is not all bad; it has many good points, and I hope I have stressed those as well. If read selectively, one could gain insight and even some background. If read indiscriminately, the book establishes some frightening patterns which might spell the end to any serious or earnest study of this music and its creators and interpreters.

---William Henry Koon
California State University
Fullerton

WEST VIRGINIA SONGBAG, edited and published by Jim Comstock (Richwood, W. Va.: 1974). 556 pp., \$12.00 (Available from Hillbilly Bookshop, Richwood, W. Va., 26261).

This is an unusual volume. Organized alphabetically, it seems at first glance to be a compendium of songs and singers from West Virginia. Thus, one finds entries for Blind Alfred Reed (alphabetized under "Blind"), William Jennings (Billy) Cox, Bailes Brothers; "Billy Richardson's Last Ride," "Black and Blue Blues," etc. Some of these entries are unexpected: for example, why is "A Baby Again," single by Hank Williams, Jr., entered? And why "Bachianas Brasileiras No. 5," recorded by Phyllis Curyin? In some cases the song identifications are surprising. For example, under "Arkansas Traveler," appears, "Single record, Kessinger Brothers, Folk Promotions." No further comments on the song or dialog. And after "My Rough and Rowdy Ways" is entered "Single record, Billy Cox." No mention of the fact that this was originally recorded by Jimmie Rodgers. A few entries are erroneous: "Axe and the Devil" is identified as "Single record, Bill Cox (with Belle Reed)." The entry confuses two separate recordings, one by Bill and Belle Reed (titled "Old Lady and the Devil") and another by Bill Cox and Cliff Hobbs.

Some of the entries are reprinted from earlier publications, not always with credit. The article on Blind Alfred Reed (pp. 8-20) includes the complete brochure notes, song text transcriptions as well, from the Rounder LP devoted to Reed, (LP 1002). Following the biographical entry on John H. Cox is the complete contents of *Folk Songs Mainly From West Virginia*, originally published in 1939 by the WPA (pp. 34-175). The entry on the Hammons Family (pp. 239-315) includes the complete brochure notes to Library of Congress Album AFS L65-L66, written by Carl Fleischhauer and Alan Jabbour. The entry on John Hardy (pp. 324-336) reprints John H. Cox's article in *Journal of American Folklore* (1919). The lengthy article on John Henry (pp. 338-481) reprints the full text of Louis Chappell's monograph, *John Henry: A Folk-Lore Study*. The article on Clark Kessinger includes, without attribution, the song notes from Kessinger's first LP (Folk Promotions FP 828). The note on the ballad "Mack McDonald" quotes, without source given, the text that appeared in Cox's *Folk Songs of the South*.

One of the more interesting items in the book is the entry on Naomi Wise. After acknowledging that the editors of the *Frank C. Brown Collection of North Carolina Folklore* state emphatically that the song is "North Carolina's principal contribution to American song," the editors of this volume produce arguments that the events described took place in 1880 in Randolph County, West Virginia. In general, it is not unusual for a ballad that recounts a true (or what could be a true) tale to be attributed to more than one set of historical (or supposedly historical) events. The argument for West Virginia origins (at least, in 1880), however, is damaged by the fact that the ballad appeared in print in North Carolina as early as 1874; furthermore, there is, at the UCLA Special Collections Library, a manuscript version of the ballad dating from ca. 1812.

The entry on Folk Music introduces a collection of songs and ballads common in West Virginia (pp. 198-231). Several of these are taken from manuscripts of Patrick W. Gainer, but for most of the nearly 90 pieces no sources are given.

My reaction to this book is mixed. Undeniably, it is useful to have the several reprinted publications gathered here--in particular Chappell's out-of-print monograph on John Henry. (Most of the other reprints are still available in original form). But on the other hand, the less-than-adequate documentation is distressing to me. Perhaps the publishers could capitalize on the strengths of the book and eliminate the weaknesses in a second edition.

---Norm Cohen
JEMF

STUDIES IN SCANDINAVIAN--AMERICAN DISCOGRAPHY, I, by Pekka Gronow (Helsinki: Finnish Institute of Recorded Sound, 1977); 112 pp., paper covers, \$5.00. (Available from the author at Pietarinkatu 12A21, 00140 Helsinki 14/08, Finland)

Readers of *JEMFQ* are aware of Pekka Gronow's pioneering discographical studies in the area of foreign language United States recordings. This pamphlet is a listing of all Finnish records issued by the Victor and Edison companies in the U. S., together with (nearly?) complete listings of all Scandinavian recordings of Odeon/OKeh, Brunswick, Vocalion, and several minor labels from early in the century until the early 1940s. (Columbia recordings were compiled separately by Gronow in a previous publication.) One table lists a year-by-year tally of the number of Finnish releases by Victor and Columbia between 1907 and 1953; another gives sales figures for Victor Finnish records in the V-4000 series in 1929-31. Altogether, the two companies issued over 700 records in that 46-year period; sales figures tabulated suggest that sales of 800-1200 were typical, and sales over 2000, rare. And these during the 1929 period, when the record industry was enjoying the tail-end of the pre-depression boom. These figures, combined with some of Gronow's remarks indicate that the big companies actually issued a larger number of foreign language releases than English recordings, although the sales for a typical foreign record were much smaller than an average pop, hillbilly, or blues record. For example, in 1929, Columbia issued 155 hillbilly records and 35 Finnish; but considering that Columbia had some 40 foreign language series, it is easy to see how the foreign out-numbered the domestic.

Compared to jazz and blues (and even to hillbilly discography, foreign language material was, until a few years ago, *terra incognita*. Gronow has almost single-handedly tried to put together the maps to this unknown area, and the present volume is an important addition to the fruits of his labors. In his introduction, Gronow promises to try to tackle the post-war Scandinavian material in the near future; and some time later this year, the JEMF and the Finnish Institute of Recorded Sound plan a joint publication of Gronow's numerical listing of Irish-American 78 rpm recordings.

-- NC

GRAMOPHONE RECORDS OF THE FIRST WORLD WAR: *An HMV Catalog 1914-18*. Introduction by Brian Rust (Newton Abbot, England, and North Pomfret, Vt.: David & Charles 1974?); \$13.95

This volume includes a reproduction of the Gramophone Record Company Ltd. of Hayes, Middlesex, England's 1914 catalog, which runs 130 pages, followed by all the HMV monthly supplements from August 1914 through December 1918. The material is "of the first World War" only in a chronological sense; it is simply a complete historical record of one of England's major record companies during that period. While the 1914 catalog itself includes simply the essential details identifying each record, the supplements are of especial interest for their lengthy comments on the music and the artists and photos of the artists. Two other curious features are the inclusion of one or two stanzas of text to the songs advertised, and the figures following the titles that indicate the proper speed at which the records should be played--varying from 74 to 81 rpm. Brian Rust's 9-page introduction provides a brief overview to the history and music of the times, noting how the war gradually came to have a marked impact on the recorded music.

-- NC

PISSING IN THE SNOW AND OTHER OZARK FOLKTALES, by Vance Randolph (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1976), with Introduction by Rayna Green and Annotations by Frank A. Hoffman; xiii + 153 pp., \$7.95.

Although Vance Randolph's extensive collection of ballads, songs, and tales has been published in several well-known volumes, his bawdy collectanea have not previously been published, and have circulated only privately, if at all. This volume includes 100 tales, anecdotes, and jokes collected by Randolph between the 1920s and the 1950s. To Randolph's own brief headnotes, giving place and date of collection, name of informant, and informant's own comments on the item, Hoffman has added annotations citing other variants, printed and oral, and occasionally other useful data. Randolph's informants in the case of the present material are often the same people who have given him Child ballads, sentimental songs, and "clean" tales; and the bifurcation of the lore of a region into non-bawdy can only contribute to the continued lack of appreciation of the complete character of Ozark folk culture; yet the realities of the publishing world suggest that such divisions will continue to be made for many years to come. Those who worked to bring about the open publication of the present volume are to be thanked for their efforts; they have produced an informative--and of course--entertaining--volume.

-- NC

BIBLIOGRAPHIC NOTES

Old Time Music, #22 (Autumn 1976) includes "Al Dexter," by Nick Tosches (pp. 4-8); "Ray Whitley's Rhythm Wranglers: Chief Rivals to Wills and Cooley in 1944-45," by Gerald F. Vaughn (9-11); "The Mountain Ramblers of Galax, P. 2." by Mike Fenton (12-17); "Grover Rann, Harry Ayers, & the Lookout Mountaineers," by Charles Wolfe (17-18), about a Tennessee-based stringband that recorded for Columbia in 1930; and "Tom Doucet," an account of a Nova Scotia fiddler, by Frank Ferrell (19-20). #23 (Winter 1976/77) features "Across the Chasm," an article on country music on radio during the Depression years, by Bob Coltman (pp. 6-12); Tony Russell's "Emmett W. Lundy's 1941 Recordings for the Archive of Folk Song" (13-14); and "Playboy Days," an interview with Eldon Shamblin, guitarist for Bob Wills' Texas Playboys for many years, by Mark Humphrey (15-22).

Pickin', 4:3 (Apr. 1977), includes "Entertainment Personified with the Lewis Family," by Bob Artis (pp. 6-12); "Between Sets With the New Grass Revival," by Mel Smothers (14-21); and a 1977 Festival Guide (41-47). 4:4 (May 1977) includes "Going to the Top with Larry Sparks" by Terry Lickona (pp. 4-9);

an obituary, "Stoney Cooper Dies at 58," by Douglas B. Green (10); "The Sullivan Family: Making a Joyful Noise Unto the Lord," by Bill C. Malone (12-15); "Hub Nitchie: Banjo Pickin' Publisher," about the editor/publisher of *Banjo Newsletter*, by Ann Jensen (16-18); "A Profile on a Couple of New York City Pickers: Kenny Kosek & Tony Trischka," an interview by Richard D. Smith (24-28); and "Lonzo & Oscar," by Aline Miller (32-33).

Sing Out! 25:4 (Nov-Dec 1976), is largely devoted to the English, Irish, and Scottish traditions in America, with a feature article, "Irish Traditional Music in America," by Mick Moloney (pp. 3-5, 15). Also included are "Clay County Fiddler: Wilson Douglass," by Hedy West (17-20); and "The Henry Ford Dance Movement," by Estelle Schneider & Bob Norman (24-25, 27).

LILY MAY: A LEGEND IN OUR TIME, by Kenneth C. Hull (NY: Carlton Press, 1970, 1975); 39 pp., photos, song texts, \$3.75. A short biographical sketch of Lily May Ledford and the career of the Coon Creek Girls. Includes texts of six songs recorded by the Coon Creek Girls and words/music of four songs by the author. (Courtesy of Asa Martin)

CANADIAN FOLK SONGS FOR THE YOUNG, selected by Barbara Cass-Beggs (Newton Abbot, England, and North Pomfret, Vt.: David & Charles, 1975), 48 pp., \$6.95. A collection of 32 folksongs, English French, Indian, and Eskimo, with words, music, and guitar chords, arranged for children. Includes brief historical notes and other commentary.

FOLK SONGS IN SETTINGS BY MASTER COMPOSERS, by Herbert Haufrecht; introduction by Virgin Thomson (New York: DaCapo Press, 1977; paperback reprint of 1970 edn. published by Funk & Wagnalls). 8.5x11", 235 pp.; bibliography, discography; \$8.95. Words and music, with brief headnotes, to 44 folksongs arranged by composers from Purcell, Hayden, and Beethoven, to Ives, Thomson, and Copland. Divided into five sections: English, Irish Scottish, Welsh, and American songs. Includes not only traditional folksong lyrics but compositions by Burns, Moore, Scott, and Gottschalk as well. An Appendix lists other arrangements of folksongs by serious composers.

SPECIAL-INTEREST AUTOS (Jan-Feb 1977) has an article by Roy C. Ames entitled "Cars in Song," a brief survey of references to automobiles in pop, hillbilly, and blues songs since the turn of the century (pp. 40-45). (Courtesy Norman Carlson)

BANJO NEWSLETTER 4:5 (March 1977) has a biography of, and interview with, Allen Shelton, by Neil V. Rosenberg and Scott Hambly (pp. 6-13).

KENTUCKY FOLKLORE RECORD 22:3 (July-Oct 1976) includes "Jesse Haycraft," by Gerald B. Claypool (pp. 71-73), a brief biography of a Kentucky musician who performed on the Renfro Valley programs and other radio shows during the 1940s.

THE ILLUSTRATED ENCYCLOPEDIA OF ROCK, compiled by Nick Logan and Bob Woffinden (NY: Harmony Books, 1977; first published in London by Salamander Books, 1976). 256 pp., 8.5x11", paperback; \$7.95. Over 650 entries, mostly of artists/groups; illustrated with photographs and reproductions of record jackets (in color).

OLDIES BUT GOODIES: THE ROCK 'N' ROLL YEARS, compiled with permission from Billboard's best-seller charts by Stewart Goldstein and Alan Jacobson (NY: Mason/Charter, 1977). xiv + 328 pp., paperback, b&w photos; \$5.95. Includes a month-by-month list of "oldies" from 1953 through 1965, followed by lists number one songs, top 100 songs, number 1 songs; most productive artists, songs on particular subjects, and others, and indexes.

ROCK GOLD: All the Hit Charts From 1955 to 1976, Courtesy of Record World, by Charles Miron (NY: Drake Publications, 1977). 160 pp., b&w photos, paperback; \$4.95. Lists top ten hits of each month for 1955 through 1976.

After three years (writes Bill Ellis) of inactivity, the revitalized Ohio Folklore Society met in Columbus Ohio last May 21, and two of the three papers heard dealt with country recordings and performers. Bob Cantwell of Kenyon College delivered "A Speculative Note on Meaning in Bluegrass," a discussion of Bill Monroe's performing style and how he communicates with his audience in non-verbal ways. Bill Ellis of Ohio State spoke on "'The Boys in Blue': Mother Song to Protest Song and Back Again," a historical study of a sentimental ballad well-known in hillbilly recordings. The meeting got off to a shaky start when it had to move to another room, since amplified folk-singing from a nearby community festival was drowning out the speakers.

RECORD REVIEWS

FROM THE SOUTHEAST TO THE SOUTHWEST: 1930s Decca Hillbilly Records. An 11-LP set compiled, with notes, by Toru Mitsui, and issued by MCA Records of Japan.

SONS OF THE PIONEERS (VIM-4009). Titles: *Ridin' Home*, *Moon Light on the Prairie*, *When Our Old Age Pension Check Comes to Our Door*, *I Follow the Stream*, *There's a Roundup in the Sky*, *Echoes from the Hills*, *Songs of the Pioneers*, *Kilocycle Stomp*, *When I leave This World Behind*, *Texas Star*, *Over the Santa Fe Trail*, *Blue Bonnet Girl*, *Empty Saddles*, *We'll Rest at the End of the Trail*.

COWBOY IMAGE (VIM-4010). Artists and titles: Stuart Hamblen: *Poor Unlucky Cowboy*; Tex Owens: *Cattle Call*; Ranch Boys: *When It's Springtime in the Rockies*; Texas Rangers: *Dude Ranch Party*, Pts. 1/2; Mack Bros.: *On the Good Old Santa Fe*; Ray Whitley: *That Green Back Dollar Bill*; Marc Williams: *Old Chisholm Trail*; Peaceful Valley Folks: *Boots and Saddle*; Leo Soileau & His 4 Aces: *Red River Valley*; New Dixie Demons: *I'm a Rootin' Shootin' Tootin' Man from Texas*; Tex Fletcher: *I'm Going Back to Red River Valley*; Rex Griffin: *Yodeling Cowboy's Last Song*; Zora Layman & Hometowners: *Old Cowboy*; Red River Dave: *Down Del Rio Way*.

THE SHELTON BROTHERS/THE CARLISLE BROTHERS (VIM-4011). First 7 titles by Shelton Brothers; last seven by Bill and/or Cliff Carlisle. Titles: *Beautiful Louisiana*, *Stayed in the Wagon Yard*, *Hang Out the Front Door Key*, *Message from Home Sweet Home*, *Answer to Just Because*, *'Leven Miles from Leavenworth*, *I'm Sittin' on Top of the World*; *Two Eyes in Tennessee*, *Footprints in the Snow*, *Sally Let Your Bangs Hang Down*, *Gonna Raise a Ruckus Tonight*, *There Is No More I Can Say*, *Broken Heart*, *I'm Sorry That's All I Can Say*.

THE CARTER FAMILY (VIM-4012). Titles: *There's No One Like Mother to Me*, *Answer to Weeping Willow*, *In the Shadow of the Pines*, *In the Shadow of Clinch Mountain*, *Lover's Lane*, *He Never Came Back*, *Dark Haired True Lover*, *Look How This World Made a Change*, *When This Evening Sun Goes Down*, *They Call Her Mother*, *Who's That Knockin' on My Window*, *Just a Few More Days*, *Farewell Nellie*, *Little Girl That Played on My Knee*.

OLD TIMEY MUSIC (VIM-4013). Artists and Titles: Flannery Sisters: *Carry Me Back to the Mountains*; Stripling Bros.: *Possum Hollow Breakdown*; Buck Nation: *Blue Ridge Mountain Sweetheart*; Log Cabin Boys: *New Brown's Ferry Blues*; Cherokee Ramblers: *Home Brew Rag*; Curley Fox: *Tennessee Roll*; Frank & Buddy Ross: *Plant a Weeping Willow on My Grave*; Scott and Boone: *Don't Dig Mother's Grave Before She's Dead*; Riley Puckett: *Take Me Back to My Carolina Home*; Bill Cox: *In 1992*; Edith & Sherman Collins: *You're a Flower Blooming in the Wildwood*; Jack & Leslie: *I'm in The Glory Land Way*; Fred Kirby's Carolina Boys: *Columbus Stockade Blues*; Whitey & Hogan: *Turn Your Radio On*.

MILTON BROWN/CLAYTON McMICHEN (VIM-4014). First 7 titles by Milton Brown & His Musician Brownies; last 7 by McMichen's Georgia Wildcats: *In El Rancho Grande*, *Love in Bloom*, *Wabash Blues*, *Put on Your Old Grey Bonnet*, *If You Can't Get Five Take Two*, *Memphis Blues*, *There'll Be Some Changes Made*; *Sweet Bunch of Daisies*, *Farewell Blues*, *Under Old Kentucky Moon*, *Alexander's Ragtime Band*, *St. Louis Woman*, *My Gal's a Lulu*, *I Wonder Who's Kissing Her Now*.

WESTERN SWING & COUNTRY JAZZ (VIM-4015). Artists & titles: Norman Phelps & the Virginia Rounders: *It's Tight Like That*, *Honeysuckle Rose*; Louisiana Strollers: *Married Woman's Blues*; Leon's Lone Star Cowboys: *31st St. Blues*, *Mistreated Blues*; East Texas Serenaders: *Arizona Stomp*; Hugh & Shug's Radio Pals: *Sugar Babe*; Ross Rhythm Rascals: *Googie-woo Blues*; Bar-X Cowboys: *Drifting and Dreaming*; Ray Whitley & His 6-Bar Cowboys: *Come on Boys We're Ridin' Into Town*; Selph's Blue Ridge Playboys: *What Difference Does it Make*; Bob Dunn's Vagabonds: *Blue Skies*, *Wednesday Rag*; Texas Wanderers: *I'll Never Let You Cry*.

CLIFF BRUNER/THE RICE BROTHERS' GANG (VIM-4016). First 7 titles by Bruner's Texas Wanderers (or Bruner and His Boys); last 7 by Rice Brothers' Gang: *Bringin' Home the Bacon*, *Corrine Corrina*, *Under the Silvery Moon*, *Old Fashioned Love*, *Beaumont Rag*, *San Antonio Rose*, *I'll Forgive You*; *King Cotton Stomp*, *Sugar Blues*, *On the Sunny Side of the Street*; *When I'm Walking with My Sweetness*, *Alabama Jubilee*, *You Are My Sunshine*, *Is It True What They Say About Dixie?*

THE DELMORE BROTHERS (VIM-4017). Titles: *Silver Dollar*, *There's Trouble on My Mind Today*, *Old Mountain Dew*, *In the Blue Hills of Virginia*, *Make Room in the Lifeboat for Me*, *Gathering Flowers from the Hillside*, *She Won't Be My Little Darling*, *Will You Be Lonsome Too?*, *Precious Jewel*, *Gospel Cannon*

Ball, I Now Have a Bugle to Play, Last Night I was Your Only Darling, Baby Girl, I Wonder Where My Darling is Tonight.

JIMMIE DAVIS/BUDDY JONES (VIM-4018). First 7 titles by Davis, last 7 by Jones: *Good Time Papa Blues, Jellyroll Blues, When It's Round-Up Time in Heaven, Bed Bug Blues, In My Cabin Tonight, Mama's Getting Hot and Papa's Getting Cold, That's Why I'm Nobody's Darling; The Women, Mean Old Lonesome Blues, Drunkard's Blues, Ragged But Right, Streamlined Mama, She's Sellin' What She Used to Give Away, Butcher Man Blues.*

1930's DECCA HILLBILLY RECORDS--ADDITIONAL ALBUM (MCX-16). This 11th album is given free to purchasers of the 10-LP set. Artists & titles: Goebel Reeves: *Yodelin' Teacher*; Tex Ritter: *Sam Hall, Lady Killin' Cowboy*; Sally Foster: *Don't Take the Sweet Out of Sweetheart*; Gene Autry: *Blue Days, T. B. Blues, Pistol Packin' Papa*; Bill Carlisle's Kentucky Boys: *Are You Goin' to Leave Me Lil*; Roy Rogers: *Nobody's Fault But My Own*; Jimmy Wakely & the Rough Riders: *Cimarron*; Red Foley: *It Makes No Never Mind*; Patsy Montana: *Shy Anne from Old Cheyenne*; Callahan Bros.: *They're at Rest Together*; Pete Cassell: *Freight Train Blues.*

Regular JEMFO readers are now well aware of the extensive activity in Japan in the area of reissues of American country (and, to a lesser extent, blues) music. This, the latest series (issued in 1976), illustrates both the advantages and drawbacks of Japanese reissues. Toru Mitsui, the compiler of the series, has outlined the background behind the production of the series. He was first approached in 1974 by Japanese MCA to compile a 6-album set of Vocalion and Decca reissues. Before long, the six had grown to eight, and he sent them his song selections. The lists were sent to American MCA. The answer was not forthcoming until December of 1975, at which time it was indicated that none of the Vocalion items was available. (For a long time, Decca/MCA has refused to acknowledge ownership of Brunswick/Vocalion material). After a few further false starts, Mitsui compiled, in February 1976, selections for a 10-LP set from Decca only, with one ground rule that none was available in LP form in any country. There were as few additional constraints imposed by Japanese MCA: that one entire album be devoted to the Carter Family, another to the Delmore Brothers, and so on. Much of 1976 Mitsui spent listening to the tapes received from American MCA, and requesting some revisions and additional numbers. The set was finally issued late in the year.

A single-sheet insert accompanies each album with biographical and discographical notes (in Japanese) on one side and text transcriptions (in English) on the other. The artist/title identification on the jacket liner includes the original Decca master and release numbers. Each album includes 14 selections arranged chronologically by release date. The purchaser of the set therefore gets a sampling of 154 selections from one of the major series of hillbilly recordings during the depression, from 1934 to 1941.

The first question that naturally arises is whether the series is indeed representative of the bulk of the long-lived Decca hillbilly series. By and large, at least in terms of most recorded artists, the sampling is a fair one. The artists with the most releases on the Decca 5000 series were, in approximate order, The Shelton Brothers, Milton Brown, Jimmie Davis, Cliff Bruner, Buddy Jones, The Carlisle Brothers, The Carter Family, Clayton McMichen's Georgia Wildcats, Rice Brothers' Gang, and Sons of the Pioneers, each of whom had over 25 releases. Each of these is justly represented by a full LP or side of an LP here. The only "misrepresentation" here is the devotion of a full LP to the Delmore Brothers, who had only about 18 releases on Decca. But then, the Delmores were well-represented on other labels (Bluebird, then King), so in a larger context there is no cause for complaint. In fact, I would say that really only one artist was omitted who strongly deserved inclusion, and that was Frank Luther.

In his liner notes, Mitsui observes, perhaps wistfully, "I hope you all enjoy this modestly biggest reissue of Decca hillbilly records...and show the same interest in them as you have done in those numerous reissue albums of...the 20's and early 30's--partial emphasis on the image of Southeastern "old-timey" music inspired by the New Lost City Ramblers among others." Indeed, the music on Decca's hillbilly series had moved away from the southeastern string band style that thrived on records during the 1920s and early 1930s. That style, though it survived in real life, became outdated on records during the mid-1930s. Of the major labels during the late 1930s--Bluebird, Decca, and the ARC labels, only Bluebird devoted much attention to the old-timey stringbands, as represented by such artists as the Blue Ridge Entertainers, Uncle Dave Macon, Fiddlin' John Carson, the Arthur Smith Trio, the Mainers, Byron Parker's Mountaineers, and, to some extent, the brother groups--Monroes, Morrisies, Dixons, and Carlisles. Decca had only a few such southeastern stringband groups: Hugh and Shug's Radio Pals, Kirby's Carolina Boys, Uncle Dave Macon and the McGee Brothers, Asa Martin & Doc Roberts, Clayton McMichen, and the Stripling Brothers practically exhaust the list, and most of them had very few releases. My argument here is not so much the difference between Decca and Bluebird, but, more importantly, the fact that the labels of the 1930s focused on cowboys, western music and western swing, brothers groups, and solo singers, such as Jimmie Davis and Buddy Jones. Country music had moved considerably away from the folk music of the rural southeast that was so important an element in the first decade of recorded hillbilly music. The banjo practically disappeared on records; in its place arose

harmonicas, accordions, and steel guitars. Traditional balladry and the almost careless free-for-all group singing disappeared. In their places were new, composed songs, either by the artists themselves or by a new breed of songwriters; and group singing was now slick and polished, with several part harmony. So much for general comments; in the following paragraphs I offer a few remarks about each of the individual albums.

Vol. 1--Sons of the Pioneers. These selections, recorded between 1934 and 1936, represent the first group to use the name "Sons of the Pioneers"--Leonard Slye (Roy Rogers), Bob Nolan, Tim Spencer, and Hugh Farr; Karl Farr joined in October 1935. From their first session are "Ridin' Home" and "Moonlight on the Prairie." It would have been nice to include the first recording of "Tumbling Tumbleweeds," made at this session; the ones that have been reissued are all later remakes. The topical "When Our Old Age Pension Check Comes to Our Door" is a slightly different song from Roy Acuff's Acuff's, both melodically and textually. Two of the cuts--"Moonlight on the Prairie" and "Over the Santa Fe Trail" are rather poor cuts; both are noticeably warped and the former in addition has considerable surface noise. This, I should note, is often one of the disadvantages to the Japanese reissues. While the pressings themselves are of excellent quality, companies have often been satisfied, in their quest for the complete recordings of this artist or that, with dubs from issued 78s in collectors' or archives' possession that are scratchy, noisy, or otherwise technically poor. "Kilocycle Stomp" is one of the Farr Brothers' first recorded instrumental duets. The other songs are typical western songs, most of them written by Nolan and/or Spencer.

Vol. 2--The Cowboy Image. The image is almost exclusively that of the romanticized west of the 1930s and later; only one of the songs and singers is traditional cowboy: Marc Williams' "Old Chisholm Trail." The Mack Brothers' "On the Good Old Santa Fe" has the ring of a traditional old hobo song, but I have not encountered it elsewhere. Tex Owens' own composition, "The Cattle Call," was popular enough when he recorded it, but in 1955 Eddie Arnold's recording of it hit number 1 on *Billboard's* C&W charts. Leo Soileau's "Red River Valley" is one of the less successful attempts by a cajun band that frequently ventured into the western or western/swing idioms. Unfortunately, the guitarist requires a full stanza to figure out the chords.

Vol. 3--Shelton Brothers/Carlisle Brothers. As I noted above, the Shelton Brothers were the most heavily recorded group on Decca--some 60 discs released. "Answer to Just Because" is a sequel to what was one of their most popular numbers. "Stayed in the Wagon Yard" is a reworking of what must have been an old minstrel show piece; "I'm Sitting on Top of the World" was familiar to listeners of the 1930s from the various versions by the Mississippi Sheiks, not to mention the several western swing covers by Milton Brown, Bob Wills, and Leon's Cowboys, as well as the Sheltons. The Carlisles did not make nearly so many recordings for Decca as did the Sheltons, but when their entire career is taken into account, they must rank as one of the most prolific teams of the 1930s. Two influential recordings of theirs were "Footprints in the Snow" (though this was not the first recording of it) and "Sally Let Your Bangs Hang Down." Cliff Carlisle's son Tommy, barely in his teens at the time, was one of the best child country singers, as his duet with his father, "Two Eyes in Tennessee," shows. All in all, the Carlisles were a very talented group, led by Cliff's fine singing and steel guitar playing. Bill Carlisle's excellent flat-pick guitar work is often forgotten, in contrast to his later inferior novelty tunes recorded in the 1950s and 1960s.

Vol. 4--The Carter Family. Surely no readers need any introduction to the original Carter Family; this album is typical of their work, though does not include any of their outstanding pieces. This is a consequence of Mitsui's goal of including all the unreissued material in Decca's vaults; naturally, the best pieces have all been reissued previously. These 14 selections are mostly 19th century sentimental ballads and songs, with the exception of the much older British ballad, "Who's That Knockin' on My Window," the religious "Just a Few More Days," and the combination sentimental ballad/humorous parody, "He Never Came Back."

Vol. 5--Old Timey Music. Perhaps this album will evoke the greatest criticism in terms of contents. Several of the selections can hardly be considered "old timey" by almost any definition, unless the phrase is to cover everything recorded on the Decca 5000 series. Much more appropriate would have been selections by the East Texas Serenaders, Uncle Dave Macon, the McGee Brothers, Clayton McMichen (from his fiddling album), Asa Martin & Doc Roberts, Emory Arthur, or Roy Shaffer. One interesting feature of this album is the presence of several songs generally associated with other artists: Log Cabin Boys doing a new version of the Delmore Brothers' and McGee Brothers' "Brown's Ferry Blues"; Fred Kirby's group perform Darby and Tarlton's "Columbus Stockade Blues," and Riley Puckett records a song often performed live by Uncle Dave Macon but never recorded by him, "Take Me Back to My Carolina Home." Highlights of the album include Curley Fox's fiddle piece, Bill Cox's topical "In 1992," and Scott & Boone's gospel-type song, "Don't Dig Mother's Grave Before She Is Dead." A few cuts are marred by warpage on the 78s used for dubbing.

Vol. 6--Milton Brown/Clayton McMichen. This volume could equally well be described by the title to Vol. 7. Brown's Musical Brownies were one of the top western swing bands of the 1930s, while McMichen's Georgia Wildcats were paradigmatic of country jazz. I have elsewhere discussed McMichen's

desire to play uptown jazz, even in the early 1920s while he was still a young fiddler playing with Gid Tanner and the Skillet Lickers. It was not until the 1930s, after Mac moved permanently to Louisville, that he turned to playing dixieland jazz full time, rather than on the few occasions when he could sneak it in between the old time hoedowns. While Mac's fiddling was adequate or better on the hot jazz numbers, such as "Farewell Blues," or "Alexander's Ragtime Band," the group's singing--as for example on the latter number, where they are obviously copying the Boswell Sisters--could not compete with the originals.

Vol. 7--Western Swing & Country Jazz. Given that two of Decca's most popular western swing bands are singled out for a full half-album each, this is a reasonable selection of the other western swing bands on the label. Similarly, the best of the country jazz, by McMichen's band and by the Rice Brothers' Gang, are explored in detail on other albums. The appellation, "country jazz" is so amorphous that it would be unseemly to complain about the justice of including Hugh and Shug's Radio Pals; though perhaps a more precise terminology would serve some useful purpose. The other selections all seem appropriate.

Vol. 8--Cliff Bruner/The Rice Brothers' Gang. Bruner's band seems to have been a good cut below the top western swing bands of the 30s--the Wills, Brown, and Boyd aggregations, but, as mentioned above, they were one of Decca's top groups. The Rice Brothers' Gang, like McMichen's Georgia Wildcats, grew out of the old time music and contemporary jazz of the Atlanta scene of the 1920s. In fact, McMichen and Hoke Rice often played together, and many of that period considered Rice one of the top guitarists (flat-pick acoustic) of the fraternity. This Decca band features clarinet and harmonica prominently, as well as guitar, but the lead guitar is electric, not acoustic. A thorough interview with Rice, if he is still alive, might provide another useful perspective on the fertile musical mileau of Atlanta in the '20s. Again, some of the tracks on this album are distractingly distorted because of warpage on the 78s (or masters) used for dubbing.

Vol. 9--Delmore Brothers. To my ear, none of the other brother duets of the 1930s could excel the Delmores at producing a perfectly blended, mellow, relaxed sound. The Delmores did not record for Decca until 1940-41, so these are among the last recordings, chronologically, on this series. Unlike their King recordings, made in the mid-40s, the Decca songs are stylistically similar to their Bluebird material, though I find the latter numbers considerably more exciting than the Decca sides. In particular, there is almost no white blues on Decca--a format at which they truly excelled.

Vol. 10--Jimmie Davis/Buddy Jones. These two singers had remarkably similar vocal qualities and styles during the 1930s. The Decca sides capture Davis between the earthy white blues that he recorded for RCA Victor--some of the finest examples of the genre on record--and the post-War years, when he turned exclusively to sweet romantic numbers (e.g., "You Are My Sunshine") and religious songs. The Jones selections are white blues, talking blues, and novelty pieces characteristic of the decade. Judging by these pieces, it seems that Jones could have profited by a much livelier accompaniment; the fiddle in particular is rather draggy on several cuts.

Additional Album. This album has no theme except herhaps to pick up ten artists/groups not represented on the other volumes that should not be passed up in such a survey. Whether three sides should be devoted to Autry, and one to Bill Carlisle, who is already well represented on a full half-side of Vol. 3, is debatable. Some of the selctions are among the earliest made by the respective artists--Tex Ritter, Jimmy Wakely, and Roy Rogers (under that name). The number by Sally Foster's group indicates that some of the music marketed during the 1930s as hillbilly was indistinguishable from the pop music of the day--shades of an argument that is still going strong in country music circles today. This album lacks text transcriptions.

In sum, this is a significant publication in the field of hillbilly music, the importance of which should in no way be slighted by my occasional criticisms. Its importance is all the more evident when one considers how little Decca material has been previously reissued, either legally or piratically. The set will probably not be officially available in the United States, but the specialty mail order outfits may be handling it. A Japanese mail order company that caters to overseas customers and carries this series is B.O.M. Service, Ltd., 6-5-18 Kawamo, Takarazuka, Hyogo 665, Japan. They are charging \$6.90 + postage per disc.

-- N. C.

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BROCHURE TO PARAMOUNT OLD TIME TUNES LP NOW READY

After several years' delay, the brochure to accompany JEMF LP 103: Paramount Old Time Tunes, is finally ready. The 34-page illustrated brochure includes a brief history of the Paramount label, a numerical of the Paramount 3000 series (with alphabetical title index), biographies and discographies of the artists featured on the LP, and notes to the songs, together with biblio-discographies and text and tune transcriptions. Although it was originally our intention to supply the brochure free to those who had already purchased the LP, we regret that the expenses of publication force us to charge \$1.00 per copy. We trust our friends will understand the necessity for this when they see the brochure.

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Reprints 17-25, available bound as a set only, are \$2.00. All other reprints are \$1.00.

4. "Hillbilly Music: Source and Symbol," by Archie Green. From *Journal of American Folklore*, 78 (1965).
6. "An Introduction to Bluegrass," by L. Mayne Smith. From *Journal of American Folklore*, 78 (1965).
9. "Hillbilly Records and Tune Transcriptions," by Judith McCulloch. From *Western Folklore*, 26 (1967).
10. "Some Child Ballads on Hillbilly Records," by Judith McCulloch. From *Folklore and Society: Essays in Honor of Benj. A. Botkin* (Hatboro, Pa., Folklore Associates 1966).
11. "From Sound to Style: The Emergence of Bluegrass," by Neil V. Rosenberg. From *Journal of American Folklore*, 80 (1967).
12. "The Technique of Variation in an American Fiddle Tune," by Linda C. Burman (Hall). From *Ethnomusicology*, 12 (1968).
13. "Great Grandma," by John I. White. From *Western Folklore*, 27 (1968), and "A Ballad in Search of It's Author," by John I. White. From *Western American Literature*, 2 (1967).
14. "Negro Music: Urban Renewal," by John F. Szwed. From *Our Living Traditions: An Introduction to American Folklore* (New York, Basic Books 1968).
15. "Railroad Folksongs on Record--A Survey," by Norm Cohen. From *New York Folklore Quarterly*, 26 (1970).
16. "Country-Western Music and the Urban Hillbilly," by D. K. Wilgus. From *Journal of American Folklore*, 83 (1970).
- 17-25. Under the title "Commercially Disseminated Folk Music: Sources and Background," issue of *Western Folklore*, 30 (1971). ~~OUT OF PRINT~~ Eugene Earle, Norm Cohen, Archie Green, Joseph Dickerson, Guthrie T. Meade, Jr., and Bill Malone. Available bound as a set only.
26. "Hear Those Beautiful Sacred Tunes," by Archie Green. From *1970 Yearbook of the International Folk Music Council*.
27. "Some Problems with Musical Public-domain Materials under United States Copyright Law as Illustrated Mainly by the Recent Folk-Song Revival," by O. Wayne Coon. From *Copyright Law Symposium (Number Nineteen)* (New York, Columbia University Press 1971).
28. "The Repertory and Style of a Country Singer: Johnny Cash," by Frederick E. Danker. From *Journal of American Folklore*, 85 (1972).
29. "Country Music: Ballad of the Silent Majority," by Paul DiMaggio, Richard A. Peterson, and Jack Esco, Jr. From *The Sounds of Social Change* (Chicago, Rand McNally & Co. 1972).
30. "Robert W. Gordon and the Second Wreck of 'Old 97'," by Norm Cohen. From *Journal of American Folklore*, 87 (1974).
31. "Keep on the Sunny Side of Life: Pattern and Religious Expression in Bluegrass Gospel Music," by Howard Wight Marshall. From *New York Folklore Quarterly*, 30 (1974).
32. "Southern American Folk Fiddle Styles," by Linda Burman-Hall. From *Ethnomusicology*, 19 (1975).
33. "The Folk Banjo: A Documentary History," by Dena J. Epstein. From *Ethnomusicology*, 19 (1975).
34. "Single-Industry Firm to Conglomerate Synergistics: Alternative Strategies for Selling Insurance and Country Music," a study of the impact of National Life and Accident Insurance Co. on the Grand Ole Opry, by Richard A. Peterson. From *Growing Metropolis: Aspects of Development in Nashville* (Vanderbilt University Press, 1975).

JEMF SPECIAL SERIES

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VOL. 13

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Number 47

CONTENTS

"She Kept On A-Goin": Ethel Park Richardson, by Jon G. Smith	105
Montana Slim: Canada's Legendary Wilf Carter, by Jay Taylor	118
The Jake Walk Blues: A Toxicologic Tragedy Mirrored in American Popular Music, by John P. Morgan and Thomas C. Tulloss (Reprinted with permission from <i>Annals of Internal Medicine</i>)	122
Letters	126
Commerical Music Graphics #42: Visual Footnotes to <i>Black Culture and Black Consciousness</i> , by Archie Green	127
The Carter Family's "Waves on the Sea"--Child 289?, by Bill Ellis	138
The Australian Regal and Regal Zonophone Series Numerical (1927-1958), Part I, by David Crisp and Hedley Charles	141
Film Review: <i>Bound for Glory</i> , by Mike Hall	147
Book Reviews: <i>Coal Miner's Daughter</i> , by Loretta Lynn (Reviewed by Sally F. O'Connor); <i>Stars of Country Music</i> , edited by Bill C. Malone and Judith McCulloh (William Henry Koon); <i>West Virginia Songbag</i> , edited by Jim Comstock (Norm Cohen); <i>Studies in Scandinavian-American Discography, I</i> , by Pekka Gronow (Norm Cohen); <i>Gramophone Records of the First World War: An HMV Catalog, 1914-18</i> (Norm Cohen); <i>Pissing in the Snow and Other Ozark Folktales</i> , by Vance Randolph (Norm Cohen)	149
Bibliographic Notes	155
Record Reviews	157

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The *JEMF Quarterly* is edited by Norm Cohen. Manuscripts that fall within the area of the JEMF's activities and goals (see inside front cover) are invited, but should be accompanied by an addressed, stamped return envelope. All manuscripts, books for review, and other communications should be addressed to: Editor, *JEMFQ*, John Edwards Memorial Foundation, at the Folklore and Mythology Center, University of California, Los Angeles, CA., 90024.

JEMF QUARTERLY

JOHN EDWARDS MEMORIAL FOUNDATION



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THE JEMF

The John Edwards Memorial Foundation is an archive and research center located in the Folklore and Mythology Center of the University of California at Los Angeles. It is chartered as an educational non-profit corporation, supported by gifts and contributions.

The purpose of the JEMF is to further the serious study and public recognition of those forms of American folk music disseminated by commercial media such as print, sound recordings, films, radio, and television. These forms include the music referred to as *cowboy, western, country & western, old time, hillbilly, bluegrass, mountain, country, cajun, sacred, gospel, race, blues, rhythm and blues, soul, and folk rock*.

The Foundation works toward this goal by:

gathering and cataloguing phonograph records, sheet music, song books, photographs, biographical and discographical information, and scholarly works, as well as related artifacts;

compiling, publishing, and distributing bibliographical, biographical, discographical, and historical data;

reprinting, with permission, pertinent articles originally appearing in books and journals;

and reissuing historically significant out-of-print sound recordings.

The *Friends of the JEMF* was organized as a voluntary non-profit association to enable persons to support the Foundation's work. Membership in the *Friends* is \$8.50 (or more) per calendar year; this fee qualifies as a tax deduction.

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THE JOHN EDWARDS MEMORIAL FOUNDATION AS A RAW DATA SOURCE FOR THE STUDY OF WOMEN IN COUNTRY MUSIC

By Frances M. Farrell

[It was John Edwards' wish, as expressed in his will shortly before his death in 1960, that his collection of records, documents, and other materials be utilized for the serious study of the music that he loved so much--American folk and early country music. It was with the hope of fulfilling that request that the will's executors worked for the establishment of the JEMF as an independent but closely cooperating adjunct of the Folklore & Mythology Center at UCLA. Here, it was felt, under the wings of one of the few graduate programs in folklore at an American university, would be the best location for establishing the kind of archive and research center that could further the serious study of folk and country music. One way in which the JEMF has tried to satisfy Edwards' request is by making its resources available to young students at universities such as UCLA. Prof. D. K. Wilgus, one of the JEMF's founding officers and Professor of Folklore and English at UCLA, has consistently required his students to make use of the JEMF in their folk music studies whenever appropriate, and several theses, dissertations, term papers, and other studies were successfully completed thanks to the availability of the JEMF's archives. Frances M. Farrell is one of many graduate students at UCLA whose interests included country music; in 1976 she submitted a paper to one of Dr. Wilgus's graduate seminars on a topic that involved the evaluation of the JEMF as a resource. We thought it would be of interest to our readers.]

Country music is a relatively recent phenomenon in American music. Born from a viable and still vital folk tradition some fifty years ago in the southeastern United States, it has been accurately depicted by Bill C. Malone:

Commercial country music developed out of the folk culture of the rural South. Although it has absorbed styles, songs, instruments, and influences from a multitude of non-white and noncountry sources, the music has been created and disseminated largely by rural dwellers within the mainstream of white Protestant Anglo-Celtic tradition. At first uncommercialized and "pure folk" in that its adherents had few mentary outlets open to them and were relatively unaffected by forces outside their native culture, the music became "commercial" when entertainment entrepreneurs learned in the 1920s that a cash market existed for it.¹

From the first, women have been a continuing and undeniable presence in country music. Samantha Bumgarner and Eva Davis recorded on fiddle and banjo April 22-23, 1924, making them one of the first string bands to do so. The widespread and ongoing influence of the guitar styling of Maybelle Carter of the Carter Family, a group that was first recorded in 1927 by Ralph

Peer in Bristol, Tennessee, is an accepted fact. Grace Wilson was a charter member of the WLS National Barn Dance and had the longest association with that show of any performer. Martha Carson, often heard on the Grand Ole Opry, has written well over one hundred songs. Lily May Ledford sang and played fiddle and banjo, first alone and later with the Coon Creek Girls, on WLS and at the Renfro Valley Barn Dance from the mid-1930s to the 1950s. Elsie McWilliams, Lulubelle White and Estelle Lovell all co-authored songs with Jimmie Rodgers, who also sang them. Margie Ann Warren (Fiddlin' Kate) sustained a long professional career as an instrumentalist. Anita Kerr established herself as an arranger, singer, group leader and an influential stylistic force in the Nashville Sound with her Anita Kerr Singers, and Dottie Rambo was the soloist and lead guitarist for the Singing Rambos.

These are but a few of the women musicians who have worked consistently and successfully as singers, songwriters and instrumentalists in country music and yet their presence and influence in country music is rarely mentioned in its discussion. Such views as Bill Malone's:

In the country music resurgence women singers have played a role as decisive as that of the male singers. The growing recognition of women country singers is a relatively new phenomenon, dating back, with a few exceptions, to no

earlier than World War II. Women had always participated in the country-music profession, but generally, as in the cases of Maybelle and Sara Carter, as part of a group; only rarely, as witnessed by the success of Patsy Montana, did women gain success on an individual basis.²

Dorothy Horstman's:

Country music until the very recent past was an almost completely male-dominated art form. As men traditionally ruled southern rural society, so they monopolized its popular music, relegating women to the status of minor performers or worshipful fans.³

and most short-sightedly of all Jack Hurst's:

As far as the hillbilly record business was concerned, before 1952 women were the primary source of blessings or afflictions that male hillbilly stars sang about, but that was about all.⁴

err in their neglecting the actual presence of women in country music as important factors in the development of the music itself just as they err in crediting the ultimate goal of all country performers to be that of the solo singing star. The vast majority of performers, singers as well as instrumentalists, male and female, performed in groups, either family or with bands. The presence of women in country family groups and bands indicated the continuation of the patterns of the folk tradition out of which country music had arisen and the preponderant role of all country musicians, male or female, rather than any inferior status for the female country musician.

The roots of country music lie in the strong tradition of family music-making found in the American Southeast. Related to this, two examples of a significant and widely spread phenomenon may be noted. Ivan M. Tribe and John W. Morris have observed concerning Lonny Glosson of the Cumberland Mountain Folks that "...his mother taught him to play the harmonica."⁵ Bill Malone states that "...Ralph Stanley (of the Stanley Brothers) played the five-string banjo in the claw-hammer, or two-finger style, taught to him by his mother in Dickenson County, Virginia."⁶ My awareness of the closeness of country music to its roots in southeastern American rural life, the importance of the family in Southeastern life and the importance of music in family life was heightened by the comments of Lily May Ledford and Rose Maddox at the workshop on women in country music held at the 4th Annual UCLA Folk Festival in 1976, comments which led me to reappraise the generally held view of women in country music.

In describing her entry into country music

as a professional performer, Lily May said:

I was nineteen when I got into this. I went by myself to WLS, Chicago, after winning an amateur contest that Mr. John Lair was putting on down in Rock Castle County, Kentucky, where his home was. So I won the contest and got the job, a five-year manager contract with Mr. John Lair, and went to WLS and worked there alone with. I worked in a unit that consisted of Red Foley, and the Girls of the Golden West and we also booked out together...in just a small unit and once in a while we would get together with the big, the whole show.⁷

She described how music had always been a part of everyone's life in her family, with the exception of her mother, something that was equally shared.

I think I always took my music for granted, because my daddy played and all my brothers and sisters, there were fourteen of us, and his daddy played before him. His sisters all played, and their children played music. And we just all took it for granted. And I grew up. I don't remember when I started it, but nobody showed me anything, it just happened. And we all sounded like one another because we lived in a isolated section of Powell County, Kentucky, in a place called the Red River Gorge and there was only three or four families in that whole valley, in the upper part of the gorge where we lived. And there was nothing to listen to. There was no radio, there was no phonographs, and no other musical people around us close. We just took it for granted.⁸

Lily May discussed the reasons for her mother's opposition to her children's, not just her daughter's making music. Her objections were religious and, stemming from her own strict non-musical upbringing, were directed towards all of her children, her sons as well as her daughters. Lily May also told of her learning to play the banjo and the fiddle and of her initiative in making her own instrument.

Oh we had the awfulest time with Momma that ever was. She didn't want us takin' up music though she loved to hear my Daddy...(play). He played the fiddle and banjo and she seemed to love to (hear) him but I guess she hadn't counted on us takin' it up. It hadn't been allowed in her home. They were Primitive Baptist-type people. Grandpa Tite (?) was a fierce old

man and he forbid 'em so many things that I don't see how they had any fun at all in their lives, nothing but work I believe. But anyway two of his boys, two of her brothers took it up, banjo, and they had to keep it hidden way up under a cliff and go up there and play, she said, once in a while. And I believe that's one thing that attracted her to my daddy, was his music but she didn't count on us takin' it up. And when we did... we'd start to pick up a banjo and she begin to think up chores for us to do, you know, she wanted us to work all the time. So when I started I took my banjo and went way up on a hill behind a big boulder, rock, where she couldn't hear me where I tried not to hear her when she was hollerin' for me. And I learned up in the woods.

And the fiddle the same way. A little later I got tired of the banjo. I got a hold of an old fiddle and we hadn't had one for two years and I was hungry to hear it. And I knew how to tune it two or three ways and I knew all them old tunes runnin' around through my head. I couldn't do nothin' in school whatsoever on account of thinkin' about the fiddle all the time. I got a hold of this fiddle and I done the same thing. I had to make all the pieces to it. I had to make this one and burn holes in it with a red hot wire, made the bridge, made the keys. And let's see, what else, yeah, the bow. I didn't have any bow so I got me a green willow stick and tied some horse hair. We had an old white horse named Charlie. I got some hair out of his tail and tied it to each end of the stick, got some pine rosin out of a stump, went up on the hill. I put some old scraps of banjo strings on it we had layin' around and went up on the hill and learned to play two tunes that day. Not very good but that was the happiest day of my life I believe.⁹

She discussed her mother's resistance to letting her children play at square dances (her own parents had opposed dancing) and how Lily May's neighbors, in support of her as a musician, had urged her mother to let her daughter go to Chicago to play on WLS.

But Momma, it was a long time before she gave up for us to play for square dances. 'Course we had our older brothers she'd send with us. And my daddy was willing. Their family

had all danced and sung, and played all of their lives. But then again when I got my contract to go to WLS Momma begin to worry. She'd read or heard things, poor old thing, about girls who would go to the city and would be sold into white slavery and that's all she could think about. Well the neighbors all talked to her, and friends that we had came to her and talked with her and begged her to let me go and she finally did, she finally signed for me to go. I was under age. So she was proud of us once we got in radio and didn't reproach us with it any more.¹⁰

Rose Maddox's experiences, while quite different from Lily May's, are also revealing as to the way in which, in the hard times of the 1930s when country music was first a viable commercial entertainment form, even a young woman could become accepted as a performer.

We started in Modesto, California. We came from Alabama on a freight train, Momma and Papa and five of us kids. And we came out here and they decided that they didn't want to pick cotton and pick fruit for a living so my brother Fred said he'd get them a job on the radio if they'd let him in with them, and he couldn't do nothin'. But, he went and got a sponsor for it and we started pickin', and singin', and we've been goin' ever since, I have anyway.¹¹

When asked if she had experienced any family opposition to her singing Rose replied, indicating as did Lily May, the importance of her mother's opinions in decisions concerning her children's careers.

No, there wasn't because we just took it for granted that that was what we was gonna do. And Momma was the boss of us kids...She started going with us because of me, because I was the youngest in the family. And we started workin', not nightclubs but plain old bars, honky tonks, and we started following the rodeos. And we'd pick out a bar and we go in and ask 'em if we could set up and play for the kitty for the weekend, you know, because we didn't get paid for it. It was just tips was all we got. And they'd say yes. And Momma would always go with us because of me. And she just automatically became the boss of the whole group. And it was...dancehalls, night clubs, anything you could. We finally started gettin' five dollars a

night for the whole group plus our kitty. And we never thought anything about it because...let's face it, we was starving to death. And it was either work in the night clubs and bars and honky tonks and you name it or, it was better than picking cotton. Paid better too...I started in the honky tonks...I did start on the radio and the next night was in a honky tonk. They don't allow anyone under twenty-one in now but they never did say a word about me. Mainly because Momma was there...¹²

A question was asked about women playing instruments in country music.

Q: I have an image of women in country music that is glamorous, that works against playing an instrument if you could, whereas almost any male singer in a country band can play rhythm guitar...without anyone remarking one way or the other. Are you aware that there is a resistance among audiences, or managers or people in the business to women performing with instruments on stage?

Rose: No. Really, they prefer them to.

Lily May:...Now we were told right from the first, we got our training from WLS and they were pretty strict up there about everything, that we were to take care of our own equipment. And if I had the fiddle and banjo to carry and a big suitcase and probably another satchel of some kind, my purse, the men didn't help you. You were told to take care of your own things. But I couldn't help to get a little sore sometime when a new girl would come on the show all the boys would carry her things for a while.¹³

Later on the women stated:

Rose: But it is hard being a woman in country music because, well, it's, you have no private life of your own, none whatsoever.

Lily May: I always got the feeling you had to be one of the boys, you know.

Rose: You're basically right.

Lily Mae: You don't expect anything special, any special treatment.¹⁴

Lily May spoke of John Lair's influence on her repertoire and her commercial image as a musician.

Mr. Lair didn't want me singin' "Little Corrie." It had something about drinkin' in it, "...as drunk as you could be." You know that line. "Wild Bill Jones," he wouldn't let me sing that and he discouraged me singing any masculine songs. He

wanted me to sing little funny songs. But I like "John Henry" and I think that's one of the best songs I know. I like to pick that. Yet, it is masculine but I sing it, and I sang "John Hardy" and "Wild Bill Jones" and "Little Corrie" and all the rest of them once I got away from him.¹⁵

Rose, as a night club singer who didn't write her own material, discussed the development of her repertoire and the influence of existing commercial materials upon the songs she chose to sing and how she sang them.

Q: You sing a pretty "hard-nosed" kind of love song, particularly coming from a woman. Your songs deal with male-female relationships in a pretty straightforward way. And I've felt...a change in the balance in country music in the songs that men sing about their relationships with women and the songs that women sing about their relationships with men. It used to be all the men were singing cheating songs, or slipping around-type songs, and fairly rare for a woman to sing that type of song, maybe Patsy Cline..I just wondered if you had changed in that respect or if you have always sung this type of song or do you feel the same type of change that I feel in the material that's available to women?

Rose: Well, there's more material available to women now than ever was, but I have always sang that way because they didn't write any songs for women, so you had to change the words around to fit a woman. But I basically always sang 'em, because you either sang the men's songs or you didn't sing any.¹⁶

In the course of one brief workshop serious questions as to the place of women in the family as well as in the country music traditions, the development of performer image and repertoire, the woman country musician as instrumentalist and the reasons for opposition to women country musicians have been raised. Such strong and firsthand evidence of women country musicians of long standing put into questions the views of Malone, Hurst and Horstman and suggest that further investigation as to the actual position of women in country music might be warranted. For just as Malone has observed regarding country music in general that "the neglect of country music is due primarily to two factors: the scarcity of basic source materials and the belief held by many authorities that the music is unworthy of serious attention,"¹⁷ so the neglect of the presence, impact and importance of women in country music may be due to more specific and yet similar reasons. The neglect of a potentially significant segment of the population which produced a phenomenon such as music can seriously affect the conclusions of scholars directing themselves toward it. Further investigation seemed to be required by this data.

For initial confirmation that more women were actively involved in country music that was generally accepted I went to several reputable sources on country music. In *Country Music, U.S.A.*, Bill Malone names forty-four women or groups of women who recorded country music or who were influential in its production: Samantha Bumgarner and Eva Davis, Mrs. Irene Spain, Sara and Maybelle Carter, Grace Wilson, Lulu Belle (Wiseman), Linda Parker, Mrs. Eva Thompson Jones, Elsie McWilliams, June Weaver, the Three Little Maids, Aunt Molly Jackson,* Sarah Ogan Gunning*, Patsy Montana, Minnie Pearl, Jenny Lou Carson, Cindy Walker, Felice Bryant, Wilma Lee Cooper, Molly O'Day, Rose Maddox, Kitty Wells, Ronny Gilbert,* the Andrew Sisters,* Patsy Cline, Norma Jean, Dolly Parton, Loretta Lynn, Pearl Butler, Jan Howard, Wanda Jackson, Marion Worth, Tammy Wynette, Jean Shepard, Dottie West, Connie Smith, Skeeter Davis of the Davis Sisters, Melba Montgomery, Liz Anderson, Mary John Wilkin, Cousin Emmy, Rose Lee Maphis, Sylvia Fricker.* (* indicates performers marginally "country"). These musicians span a time period from 1924 to the present.

Ivan M. Tribe and John W. Morris, in *Molly O'Day, Lynn Davis and the Cumberland Mountain Folks: a Bio-discography*, include thirty-six women country musicians, only six of whom are duplicated in Malone: Molly O'Day, Lulu Belle Wiseman, Lily May Ledford, Milly and Dolly Good, Violet and Daisy of the Coon Creek Girls, Sue and Ann Mason, Eleanor Parker, Juanita Moore, Martha Carson, Texas Ruby, Minnie Pearl, Hazel Cole, Milly Wayne, the Hamid Sisters, Bea Lilly, Mattie O'Neal, Wilma Lee Cooper, Jeanie West, Rose Maddox, Rose Lee Maphis, Gloria Belle Flickinger, Wilimai Whitaker, Polly and Janis Lewis, Mrs. Norma Hammons, Grannie Harper (Mrs. Elora Williams), Billy Jean Lydick, Little Eller Long, the Travers Twins and Wilma Martin.

Linnell Gentry's *A History and Encyclopedia of Country, Western and Gospel Music*, second edition, included ninety-three women country musicians. Gentry's entries are often uneven and incomplete as to the specific musical occupations of many of the musicians. However, the following data can be drawn from this volume. Of the 93 musicians included: 90 sang, 15 played some instrument, 32 had written songs, 23 had co-written songs, 14 had their own groups, 19 performed in sister or all women groups, 13 were in family groups, 4 did comedy and one was an arranger.

Irwin Stambler and Grelun Landon's *Encyclopedia of Folk, Country and Western Music* is more conscientious about including the musical activities of its performers than Gentry's book, but this volume also gives the reader reason to doubt its thoroughness (e.g., the entry on Loretta Lynn fails to mention that she is a songwriter). However, one does find in this book that of the forty-seven performers included: 46 sang, 29 played some instrument or instruments, 20 wrote songs, 3 were actresses, 3 did comedy,

2 yodeled, 1 was an arranger, 2 produced, 12 were group leaders, and 1 was a disc jockey.

One must always grant that such reference books as these are by nature selective in their entries. But, however limited such data as these books provide may be, coupled with the comments of the musicians in the UCLA Workshop, they seem to indicate that the generally accepted portrait of the role of women in country music is inaccurate and inadequate. Agreeing with Malone's comment that "through the study of folk music, the folklorist and social historian can gain a greater understanding of the attitudes and ideals of those strata of American society which leave few if any written documents,"¹⁸ it becomes apparent to me that, just as any music can reflect its culture, so the views of those analyzing the culture can obscure our view of the music and thus limit our appreciation of the music and its musicians as a social indicator. Such views as those held by Malone, Hurst and Horstman indicate that conceivably a substantial segment of country musicians and their music has been overlooked in the interpretation of country music and that such an attitude could detrimentally affect the analyst's ability to accurately assess the content and significance of that music in its cultural context.

In a preliminary attempt to investigate some of the questions raised here, I turned toward the John Edwards Memorial Foundation at UCLA as a raw data source for the study of women in country music. As with the encyclopedias one must grant at the outset that any collection or archive will reflect the personal tastes and prejudices of its collector or archivist. However, as a substantial and reputable collection, the JEMF appeared to be a good starting point for this investigation. The goal of this phase of the project was merely to assess the resources available in the JEMF germane to this study and through this to judge the merit of and future directions that this investigation might take. Had I realized what a backbreaking enterprise the probing of those two small rooms would become, I might have considered directing my energies toward a simpler task.

The JEMF is a collection of recordings, tapes, publications, periodicals, books, song folios, discographies and files. Its vertical files are organized under several major headings: People (i.e., recording artists, musicians, recording company personalities, etc. often dealing with popular and blues or jazz performers as well as country) with a vast and unevenly accumulated mass of information such as newspaper and magazine articles, recording company information sheets, fan club mailers, promotional photographs and artist discographies; record companies, folders including company discographies, catalogues and related publicity literature; the Subject file, including such headings as festivals, clubs, various instruments, bluegrass, country and western, catalogs, the Grand Ole Opry, motion

pictures, Nashville, Renfro Valley and radio stations; song folios, including listings of performers mentioned in the song folios collection; the Title file, Artist file, and Master file of recordings and the Tape file.

I determined that the segments of the collection most useful to me as primary resources were the People file, the Artist file of recordings, Song Folio file and the collection of publications. With the exception of the last, in each of these I could assess the presence of specific featured female performers and their representation in the collection. The periodicals, while not a primary source, would indicate materials available for secondary research (as will eventually the subjects and record company files).

The Artist file for the record collection immediately presented specific problems. This could be most clearly seen in working with the cards from the original John Edwards collection. Edwards was, or so his collection indicates, a voracious lover of all things musically American. He loved not only country music but also blues, jazz and pop music. In going through the card file, and in being curtailed in the limited access to the actual recording by the nature of the collection itself, one is constantly confronted with soundless cards listing songs that could be gospel, blues or country and artists who could be female or male, black or white. Sometimes record labels, song titles and mentioned recording personnel can solve these problems. However, these comforting indicators were usually missing on the cards of performers who I didn't know. In those cases I chose the sin of inclusion rather than that of omission, favoring an eventual winnowing out to an incomplete record.

As with the encyclopedias, the problem of who plays what and who wrote what is only minimally solved by the card file. An eventual listening to the actual recordings would partially solve some of the problems raised here but even the access to the records themselves could continue to be deceiving. One extreme indication of this can be found in Maybelle Carter's comments on the Carter Family's last recording sessions with Jimmie Rodgers.

We recorded with Jimmie Rodgers in Louisville in 1932, not more than a year before he died. In fact, he wasn't able to play his guitar very much, he was that sick. So I played for him, you know, so everybody would think it was him. But it was me.¹⁹

The People file provided many photographs and bits and pieces of information about many women performers. Some of the photographs are those of barn dance personnel or groups and in this they are doubly helpful in providing information on several performers. The occasional discographies as well as the content of each of the woman artist's folders were noted down.

The Song Folio file, arduously cross-referenced to include major and minor performers, is a valuable resource for sheet music, photographs and small

pieces of information on little-known as well as major performers. It and the People file are a useful ancillary to the performers found in the record files, providing not only occasional confirmation as to the "country status" and gender of a performer in the Edwards collection (the New Acquisitions file, dealing generally with later materials does not present as many problems) but also an indication as to the personnel of some of the major barn dances.

The Undubbed Tapes file includes information gleaned from other sources than the JEMF collections and includes some helpful interviews and live performances. The twelve and ten inch record collections include long-playing records of recent issue which include many of the popular performers of the 1950's and 1960's.

The large amount of data gathered in a relatively short time of this preliminary foray into the question of women in country music, in excess of 3,000 individual index cards, many with multiple entries, indicated the considerable data to be found in just one collection when directing oneself toward an investigation of this subject. Computing conservatively, one finds the following results: in the People file 263 individual women musicians were found; in the Song Folios 197; in the New Acquisitions 155; in the Original Collection 120; in the 12" Records 69; in the Non-dubbed Tapes 17; and in the 10" recordings 9.

When one considers that the JEMF is but one collection, originally based on the collecting tastes and biases of one man living an ocean away from the source of this music and that in the record collection files only the featured performer are listed, the size of the representation of women country musicians in this collection is staggering. That the collection stresses more the older recordings than those of the last decade and a half underscores the immensity of this discovery. One may say that for the possibly 400 separate individuals represented by this collection another 4,000 or possibly 14,000 male country musicians could be conceivably found in the JEMF. One must also grant, though, that as has been found with the several women musicians in mixed groups or those who write music who are rarely mentioned in most sources (such as Elsie McWilliams, Hattie Stoneman, Irma Frost, "Tiny Red Jones' wife," the actual musical presence of women in country music as song writers, instrumentalists and even as vocalists, has been more pervasive than present scholarship would suggest.

There are no ultimate conclusions to come from this project at this stage, although I have been encouraged by the data uncovered to expand it into a book-length study. As suggested earlier the goal of this investigation was simply to assess the JEMF as a raw data resource for possible future research into the role of women musicians in country music. It has proven to be a rich one, and one which demands further investigation which, on the basis of more data, may confirm the hypothesis pursued in this study: that

of the importance of women in country music,
from its beginning to the present day.

FOOTNOTES

- ¹ Malone, Bill C., *Country Music, U. S. A.* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1968), p. viii.
- ² Malone, pp. 286-7.
- ³ Horstman, Dorothy, "Loretta Lynn" in Malone and McCulloch, eds., *Stars of Country Music* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1975), p. 309.
- ⁴ Hurst, Jack, *Nashville's Grand Ole Opry* (N. Y.: Abrams, 1975), p. 256.
- ⁵ Tribe, Ivan and John W. Morris, *Molly O'Day, Lynn Davis and the Cumberland Mountain Folks: A Bio-Discography* (Los Angeles: JEMF, 1975), p. 14.
- ⁶ Malone, pp. 317-8.
- ⁷ The Workshop on Women in Country Music - 4th Annual UCLA Folk Festival, 1976.
- ⁸ *Ibid.*
- ⁹ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁰ *Ibid.*
- ¹¹ *Ibid.*
- ¹² *Ibid.*
- ¹³ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁴ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁵ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁶ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁷ Malone, p. vii.
- ¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 133.
- ¹⁹ Shestack, Melvin, *The Country Music Encyclopedia* (NY: Thos. Y. Crowell, 1974), p. 37.

-- University of California
Los Angeles

LETTERS

Sir:

It goes without saying that I was most pleased with JEMFQ #46, what with the excellent story on Tex Ritter, the fine review of *The Tex Ritter Story*, and recognition given at last to Elsie McWilliams.

Oddly enough, my attention centered on the map of the United States, p. 59 (fig. 1 of George Carney's article on the All-Country Music Radio Station). It would be good to have this map enlarged, preserved, and, especially, expanded. For example:

SAN FRANCISCO (ca 1923), KFRG. The Blue Monday Jamboree, with Nat Vincent, Haywire Mac, & others.

SAN FRANCISCO (1920s & '30s), KYA. Dude Martin Show.

PORTLAND, ORE. (1942). Nora Martin & Pals of the Golden West.

HOLLYWOOD (1943-47), KNX. Hollywood Barn Dance.
HOLLYWOOD (1940s-'50s), KNX-CBS. Jimmy Wakely Bristol-Myers Show.

HOLLYWOOD (1940s-'50s), KNX-CBS. Rex Allen/Sons of the Pioneers Show.

HOLLYWOOD (1940-56), CBS. Gene Autry's Melody Ranch.

HOLLYWOOD (1951-61), KFI-NBC-KTTV. Ranch Party for Screen Gems.

DENVER (1938), KOA. Ozzie Waters Ford Show.

ST. LOUIS (1935), KMOX. Pappy Cheshire & the Ozark Mountaineers.

KANSAS CITY (1930s), KMBC-CBS. Tex Owens & The Texas Rangers.

FT. WORTH (1930s-'40s), WBAP. Lightcrust Doughboys on Texas Quality Network.

FT. WORTH (mid-1930s), Southwest Network. Milton Brown, Bill Boyd, others.

TULSA (mid 1930s), KVOO. Saddle Mountain Roundup.

TULSA (1930s-'40s), KVOO. Bob Wills & his Texas Playboys.

PHILADELPHIA (1946). A network Hoedown Show with Elton Britt, Sally Starr, and others; perhaps readers can recall the full name of it.

And a whole slue of others yet to be unearthed.

-- Johnny Bond
Burbank, Calif.

THE AUSTRALIAN REGAL/REGAL ZONOPHONE NUMERICAL, Pt. 2

(See JEMFQ #47, p. 141, for Introduction to this feature)

G22123 Aug. 1934	FRANK LUTHER'S ROCKY MOUNTAIN RANGERS	B15159 B15158	That Silver Haired Daddy of Mine Ridin' Down That Old Texas Trail
G22130 Aug. 1934	THE McCRAVY BROTHERS	100469-1 100468-1	Stand By Me Leave It There
G22137 Dec. 1934	TOMMY HURST	T1336 T1337	The Face at the Window Don't Forget Me, Little Darling
G22140 Nov. 1934	BOB CLIFFORD	13636 13647	Mouses Ear Blues Ringtail Tom
G22149 Nov. 1934	GENE AUTRY	149179-3 149664-2	Blue Yodel No. 5 No One to Call Me Darling
G22150 Nov. 1934	ALABAMA BARN STORMERS (Eddie Younger's Mountain- eers)	149969-3 149967-2	The Waltz of the Hills The Apple Song
G22166 Oct. 1934	GENE AUTRY & JIMMIE LONG	13103 13109	Cowboy's Heaven The Yellow Rose of Texas
G22167	FRANK LUTHER TRIO	13429 13484.	Way Up There Shepherds of the Air
G22168	FRANK LUTHER TRIO	13382 13482	Ten Hours a Day; Six Days a Week Every Sunday Night Back Home
G22169 Oct. 1934	GLEN RICE & HIS BEVERLY HILL BILLIES	B12515 SF14A	Cowboy Joe Back in the Old Sunday School
G22174 Oct. 1934	FISHER HENDLEY & HIS CAROLINA TARHEELS GENE AUTRY & JIMMIE LONG	13780 13111	Answer to Big Rock Candy Mountain The Answer to 21 Years
G22175 Oct. 1934	GENE AUTRY & JIMMIE LONG GENE AUTRY	13107 13496	If I Could Bring Back My Buddy The Life of Jimmie Rodgers
G22176 Nov. 1934	GENE AUTRY GLEN FOX & JOE WILSON (Martin & Roberts)	13494 13031	The Death of Jimmie Rodgers There's A Little Box of Pine on the 7:29
G22177 Nov. 1934	GLEN FOX & JOE WILSON W. LEE O'DANIELS & HIS LIGHT CRUST DOUGHBOYS	13021 C630	Message of a Broken Heart Memories of Jimmie Rodgers
G22211	BRADLEY KINCAID	C6874 C6875	Please, Mr. Conductor, Don't Put Me Off the Train For Sale, A Baby
(Note: C6874 titled "The Lightning Express" on U. S. issues.)			
G22215 Nov. 1934	BRADLEY KINCAID	C6866 C6871	The Fatal Derby Day The Fatal Wedding
G22216 Nov. 1934	BRADLEY KINCAID	C6429 C6429	I Wish I Had Someone to Love Me The Innocent Prisoner
G22217 Nov. 1934	W. LEE O'DANIELS & HIS LIGHT CRUST DOUGHBOYS	C623 C629	Your Own Sweet Darling Wife Please Come Back To Me
G22218 Nov. 1934	BRADLEY KINCAID FRANKIE MARVIN	C6865 E36436	Somewhere, Somebody's Waiting for You Come Back to the Hills
G22228 Feb. 1935	HARRY TORRANI	AR2732-1 AR2733-4	The Yodelling Hobo The Yodelling Monster
G22244 Feb. 1935	ROBERT ROLO & THE SINGING MOUNTAINEERS	AR2598-2 AR2599-1	Wagon Wheels The Old River Road
G22245	THE HILL BILLIES	AR2806-1 AR2808-1	Take Ma Boots Off When I Die Ole Faithful
G22247 Feb. 1935	TEX RITTER GLEN FOX & JOE WILSON	13157 13023	Old Paint The Roundup in the Spring

G22249	W. LEE O'DANIELS & HIS	SA2145	Kelly Waltz
Jan. 1935	LIGHT CRUST DOUGHBOYS	SA2148	Rochester Schottische
G22255	W. LEE O'DANIELS & HIS	SA2142	Alamo Waltz
Feb. 1935	LIGHT CRUST DOUGHBOYS	SA2149	Heel and Toe Polka
G22261	THE HILL BILLIES	AR2807-1	The Last of the Texas Rangers
		AR2809-1	Bunk House Billy
G22271	STRIPLING BROTHERS	15292	June Rose Waltz
Jan. 1935		15293	Midnight Waltz
G22272	STRIPLING BROTHERS	15290	Rangers Hornpipe
Feb. 1935		15291	Coal Mine Blues
G22273	McFARLAND & GARDNER	C516	School House Dreams
Jan. 1935		C523	When the Candle Lights are Gleaming
G22274	McFARLAND & GARDNER	33138	There's Somebody Waiting for Me
Feb. 1935		8622	When We Carved Our Hearts on the Old Oak Tree
G22311	W. LEE O'DANIELS & HIS	SA2141	My Brown Eyed Texas Rose
March 1935	LIGHT CRUST DOUGHBOYS	SA2151	She's Still That Old Sweetheart of Mine
G22312	McFARLAND & GARDNER	ATL6625	The Hut on the Back of the Lot
March 1935		K8068	I've Grown So Used to You
G22324	THE HILL BILLIES	AR3026-1	Little Mountain Cabin
		AR3028-1	Pop Eyed Pete
G22336	GOEBEL REEVES	9	The Hobo and the Cop
April 1935		12	The Cowboy's Lullaby
G22337	SMILING BILL CARLISLE	15794	Bachelor's Blues
		15821	Penitentiary Blues
G22339	BRADLEY KINCAID	OA81386	The Ship That Never Returned
April 1935		OA81393	I'll Take You Home Again, Kathleen
G22350	THE HILL BILLIES	AR3149-1	Roll Along Covered Wagon
April 1935		AR3150-1	Yip! Neddy
G22357	THE HILL BILLIES	AR3029-1	Sing, You Cowboy
		AR3027-1	The Prairie is a Lone Place at Night
G22363	GOEBEL REEVES	5	The Cowboy's Prayer
May 1935		6	Hobo's Lullaby
G22366	JOE SMITH (THE COLORADO	OA82558	Pining for the Pines in Carolin'
May 1935	COWBOY)	OA82559	The Wyoming Trail
G22367	BRADLEY KINCAID	OA77663	In the Little Shirt That Mother Made For Me
May 1935		OA81389	Mrs. Jimmie Rodgers' Lament
G22369	THE GIRLS OF THE GOLDEN	OA77211	The Cowgirl's Dream
	WEST (MILDRED & DOROTHY	OA77195	Home Sweet Home in Texas
	GOOD)		
G22376	FLANAGAN BROTHERS	108485-2	On the Road to the Fair
	(guitar & jews harp		
	instrumental)		
G22399	THE HILL BILLIES	AR3228-1	Goodbye Broncho Bill Goodbye
June 1935		AR3231-1	Twilight Yodelling Song
G22401	HANK & SLIM (THE NEWMAN	15838	Dear Old Mother
	BROS)	15839	Three Pictures of Life's Other Side
G22402	SMILING BILL CARLISLE	15822	Cowboy Jack
June 1935		15793	Beneath the Weeping Willow Tree
G22418	THE HILL BILLIES	AR3151-1	When the Curtains of Night are Pinned Back by
June 1935			the Stars
		AR3152-1	Lily Lucy Lane
G22458	HARRY TORRANI	AR3311-1	The Lonesome Yodeller
July 1935		AR3312-1	Yodeling to You
G22464	TED HAWKINS & RILEY PUCKETT	OA82718	Zelma Waltz
Aug. 1935		OA82717	Down in the Valley Waltz

G22465	THE CARTER FAMILY	OA45030 OA71614	I Have No One To Love Me Tell Me That You Love Me
G22466	JESSE RODGERS	OA82621 OA82623	The Rambler's Yodel I Wish You Were Here, Dear
G22467	ASHER SIZEMORE & LITTLE JIMMIE	OA82750 OA82757	Little Jimmie's Goodbye to Jimmie Rodgers I Miss My Dear Sweet Mother
G22468	DICK ROBERTSON	OA74723	I'm So Happy When the Sun is Shining
G22469 Aug 1935	THE CARTER FAMILY	OA83136 OA83139	Darling Daisies Lovers Return
G22470	THE CARTER FAMILY	OA59021 OA83134	The Sun of the Soul Happy or Lonesome
G22472 Aug 1935	THE HILL BILLIES	AR3327-1 AR3325-1	Goodnight When the Harvest Moon is Shining
G22473	THE HILL BILLIES	AR3229-2 AR3220-1	Down in Old Santa Fe Lay Me Down
G22480	THE GIRLS OF THE GOLDEN WEST (MILDRED & DOROTHY GOOD)	OA80952 OA80953	Bucking Broncho (My Love is a Rider) By the Silver Rio Grande
G22481 Sept 1935	NARMOUR & SMITH	OA82834 OA82835	The Rose Waltz Winona Echoes Waltz
G22482 Aug 1935	THE CARTER FAMILY	OA83135 OA83143	One Little Word You've Been Fooling Me, Baby
G22483 Aug 1935	A.C. (ECK) ROBERTSON AND FAMILY	OA55349 OA55350	Brown Kelly Waltz, Pt. 1 Brown Kelly Waltz, Pt. 2
G22494 Aug 1935	THE HILL BILLIES	AR3329-1 AR3326-1	Old Shep Red River Valley
G22499 Sept 1935	BRADLEY KINCAID	OA81385 OA81384	Little Rosewood Casket Letter Edged in Black
G22500	ARTHUR SMITH	OA87680 OA87679	Blackberry Blossom Smith's Waltz
G22501 Sept 1935	THE CARTER FAMILY	OA87030 OA87026	Cowboy's Wild Song to His Herd My Heart's Tonight in Texas
G22510 Nov 1935	THE HILL BILLIES	AR3438-2 AR3439-3	When You Lay Me Six Feet Deep Roll Along Prairie Moon
G22511 Sept 1935	THE HILL BILLIES	AR3436-1 AR3437-1	Rag-Time Cowboy Joe I'm Gonna Yodel My Way to Heaven
G22527 Sept 1935	STRIPLING BROTHERS	C4127 C4128	Red River Waltz Moonlight Waltz
G22537	BRUCE & ROGER (THE SOUTH AFRICAN DUETISTS)	AR3505-2 AR3504-2	Call Me Sweetheart Rehearsing a Lullaby
G22549 Nov 1935	SMILING BILL CARLISLE	15792 15829	Little Wild Rose Little Honey Bee
G22550 Oct 1935	THE GIRLS OF THE GOLDEN WEST (MILDRED & DOROTHY GOOD)	OA80842 A77210	Old Chisolm Trail Little Old Cabin in the Lane
G22552 Nov 1935	JESSE RODGERS	OA82620 OA87740	'Way Down in Mississippi Leave Me Alone Sweet Mama
G22553 Nov 1935	JESSE RODGERS	OA87744 OA87745	Down in the Hills Lonely Days in Texas
G22554 Nov 1935	BRADLEY KINCAID	OA82391 OA82390	Just Plain Folks In the Hills of Old Kentucky
G22555 Oct 1935	TED HAWKINS & RILEY PUCKETT	OA82690 OA82691	Raindrop Waltz Rainbow Waltz

COUNTRY MUSIC CULTURE IN CENTRAL NEW YORK STATE

By Simon J. Bronner

In a previously published article for the *JEMF Quarterly*,¹ I outlined some of the questions surrounding "the myth of Southern origin," of country music. It was my contention that country music had an independent and continuous development in areas outside the South incorporating existing folk traditions. Furthermore, regional characteristics evolved from a selection of commercially disseminated music from contiguous areas in addition to popular sources. In the following article, I wish to develop these hypotheses further in the discussion of field work in one regional culture area--Central New York State.

The area under study constitutes a ten-county area north of the Pennsylvania border to the Mohawk River; west of the Catskill Mountains to Cayuga Lake. The center of this region and the core for the concentration of field work was the tri-county area of Otsego, Chenango, and Delaware counties. The study included primary research on forty-six performers, eight country music bars, and four country music radio stations.

The initial project was to determine whether this area had the necessary geographical, climatological, and cultural conditions that Bill Malone argued allowed a regional music in the South to evolve.² Malone cites the following:

1) A rural agricultural population comprised of White Protestant Anglo-Celtic inhabitants.

2) A basic isolation due to geographic factors, deficiencies in education, poverty, and lack of communication.

3) "...a commitment to and preservation of traditional cultural values,"³ summarized as a basic conservatism.

All these factors existed in the Central New York area. Otsego County illustrated the trends and patterns throughout the region. The County contained 48,967 residents in a 1,024 square mile area in 1870.⁴ This figure decreased in 1910 to 47,216 residents in the same area. By 1960, the population had increased slightly to 51,942 while the rest of the State and the rest of the country doubled in population. The following maps illustrate the different in population density between 1910 and 1960. It is apparent that the concentrations of population remained in the Oneonta, Norwich, and Sidney areas while the majority of townships contained less than forty persons per

square mile. According to the United States Census, 68.9% of the area was considered rural in 1960 to a high of 71.5% in 1970.

After observing the landscape, one can see clearly that farming is the dominant occupation. Agriculture employed the largest percentage of the civilian labor force in both 1960 and 1970. Most of the farms are family operations which continue to have financial difficulties. Despite this, the majority of the land area is being used for agriculture.

The ethnic composition of Otsego County is the same Anglo-Celtic population that settled the South. The Anglo-Celtic traditions have been equally diffused into the culture. As examples, Henry Glassie has observed that the County's material culture "...is continuous with English traditions."⁵ Robert Bethke has written from field observation in St. Lawrence County in New York that "It would appear that the fiddling tradition in St. Lawrence County has been perpetuated mainly among residents of mixed English, Scots, Scots-Irish, and Lowland Irish backgrounds."⁶ In addition to these groups, the rural Central New York area has had a small influx of Slovenian, Dutch, German, and other East European immigrants.

The area is by and large racially homogeneous. Only 0.4% of the total population of Otsego County is non-white.⁷ In addition, 87% of the population is native born and of native parentage. Furthermore, the regional characteristics of the area are influenced by the household mobility of these residents. According to the *Studies in Regional Development*, 56.2% of the residents in Otsego County had the same house in 1970 as they did in 1965. Of the 40% who moved to a different house in the United States, 18.4% stayed in the County and 16.3% stayed in the State. These factors contribute to a profile of a predominantly rooted, Anglo-Celtic, and agrarian population.

The relative isolation of the area is due to the harsh winters, flood waters, and rough topography associated with it. Indeed, one of my first encounters was with a woman in Coopers-town, New York, who clearly proclaimed that her husband was from there, but she was "some distance away--from a different area." This allusion to a different area was the Mohawk Valley region only fifteen miles away. The

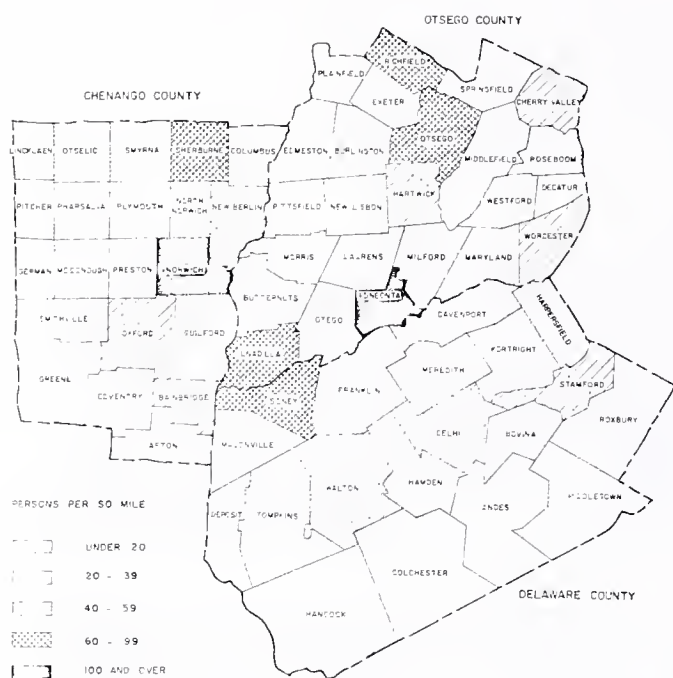


FIGURE 17

POPULATION DENSITY BY TOWNS, THREE-COUNTY REGION, 1910.

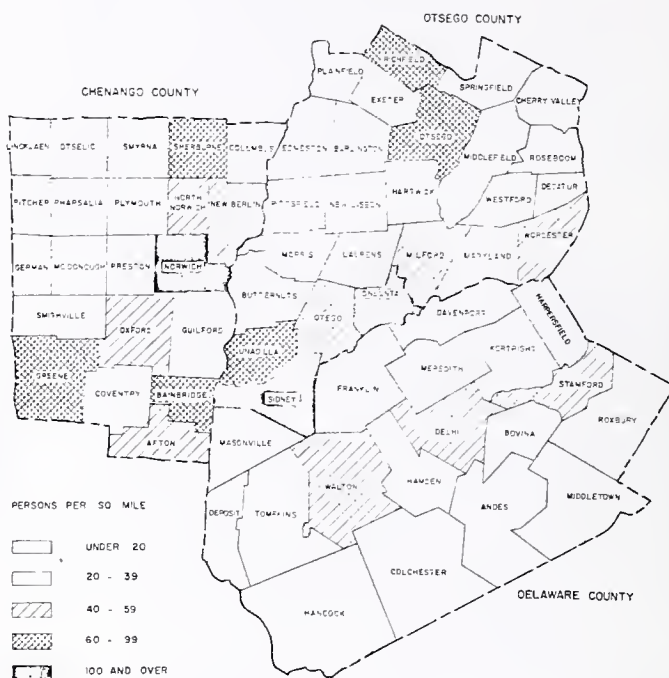
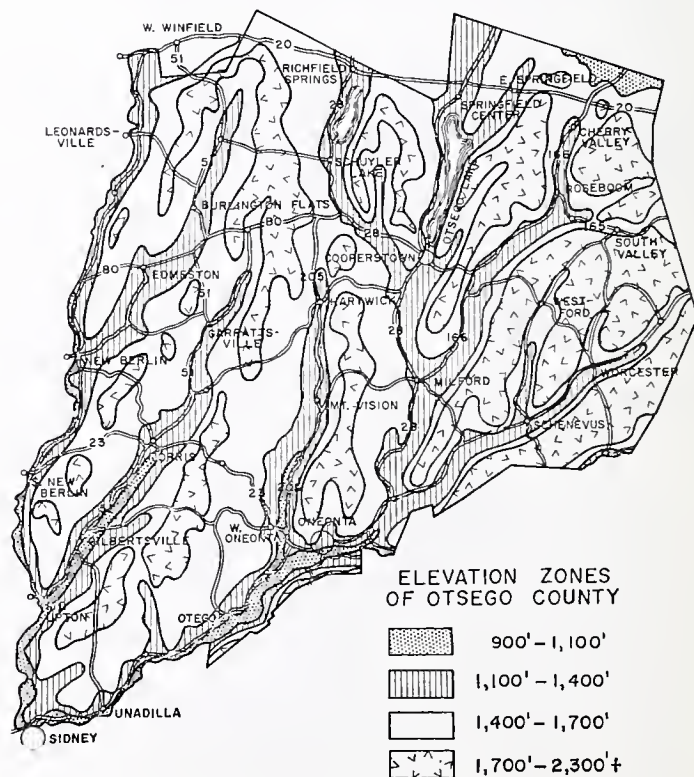


FIGURE 18

POPULATION DENSITY BY TOWNS, THREE-COUNTY REGION, 1960.



Location of Otsego County, New York.



distinction in her mind is representative of a geographic frame of reference common to local residents.

In the area of education, New York State continues to have a compulsory education law. However, the rural nature of the Central New York region precluded separation by ability or grades as in larger school systems until recently. The one room schoolhouse was still common in the region until well into the nineteen fifties. Out of a total enrollment of 14,398 students in Otsego County in 1960, only 21% were in high school. These figures partially reflect the emphasis on oral participation, repetition, and tradition not available in the school systems.

The factor of poverty was also significant in the region's profile. In 1959 rural farm families in Otsego County earned a median income of \$3,728. In 1969 the same sample had a median income of \$2,393. In comparison with the rest of the State in 1969, Otsego County ranked forty-fourth among the fifty-seven counties in the State in median income for all families.

Malone's delineation of factors of isolation such as geography, poverty, and deficiencies in education and communication as elements in the development in country music can not be discussed solely in the context of the South. As the previous discussion should show, such factors were also present in Central New York. While it is true that the socio-economic system of Central New York did not rest, "on a base of human slavery,"⁸ there certainly was the reverse of this coin of conservatism present: "commitment to and preservation of traditional cultural values,..."⁹ For example, one square dance caller from Edmeston, New York commented on the necessity of using traditional calls for his audiences by saying, "If you try something new on these people, they won't do it!"¹⁰ This attitude is reflected materially by the comments of Ken Kane of Hartwick, New York.

Those store bought stuff is just no good. So you'd go take a look at something and then go home and make it yourself the way you want to. Now my son, he doesn't even bother, he just makes it up in his head. Everybody does it that way."

Such behavioral attitudes are manifested in the continuance of musical, material, and social traditions reinforced by family and social gatherings common in the region. It is no coincidence that this socially conservative attitude is juxtaposed with the area's politically conservative history.

An important factor that cannot be quantified is a people's love of singing. Singing provided a release from the rigors of work such as quiltings, barn raisings, hop picking, and apple picking. In addition, singing allowed a release from the sensation of loneliness caused by the cold and snow of a typical New York winter. The emphasis on tradition and family helped contribute to the

continuity of the area's instrumental and singing traditions.

The culmination of all these factors aided the development of a music which appealed to local needs and tastes. With the advancement of communication, this music seemed to resemble a new evolving music known as country music. Through the processes of adaptation, selection, and variation, these related traditions became assimilated.

HISTORICAL ORIGINS

From the earliest available accounts, the context for folk music in Central New York was dance and specifically square and country dancing. An account of a ball given on 1 January, 1816 in what is now Ellicott, New York, describes, "...that fine old country dance of Money Musk,"¹² which uses the contemporary square dance terms, "allemand" and "chassezed."

In 1836 a Scottish bookseller named Richard Weston travelled across New York State and kept a journal of his travels. Of special interest is his accounts of an apple bee, quilting bee, and a saw mill raising. All these community events were accompanied by music and dance. At the apple bee, Weston describes over a dozen play-party songs he heard performed. Sometime later he discovered that these performances were recognizable to a completely different community probably in the area of Little Falls, New York

When I returned to my old quarters, I found that my manuscript of the plays had excited some curiosity, most of them being traditionary [sic].¹³

This same community was able to add several more performances to the list at a social gathering to complete work on a quilt.

The quilt was finished in about three hours, and taken down, hands washed, the frame put away, and the room swept. A fiddler, the same at whose house I had been at the raising [saw mill], was engaged, and he could play well.¹⁴

In a later entry, Weston is approached about the dancing in this rural New York community and its counterpart in Scotland. Weston acknowledges their similarities but jingoistically upholds the superiority of the Scots.

Pictorial evidence of the type of dancing and fiddling that may have been present during this period has been preserved by William Sidney Mount in his various paintings and sketches. Born in Setauket, New York, in 1807, Mount became well known as a painter of genre scenes. Beginning with "Rustic Dance After a Sleigh Ride," in 1830, and continuing with paintings such as, "Dancing on the Barn Floor," in 1831, "Dance of the Haymakers," in 1845, and "The Power of Music," also in 1845, Mount displayed a predilection toward the portrayal of



Above: The Sherman Family as it appeared in the 1920s and 1930s for its radio show. Left to right, standing: Tess Sherman, her husband, Dan Sherman, Mabel (Deforest) Sherman. The two "cowboys" seated are Mabel's brothers.
 Below: The Rhythm Rangers (1953). L to r: Eddie Davidovich, Neil Ralston, Clayton Loucks, Charley Hughes, Norm Van Pelt. (All photos courtesy of the author)

everyday life especially those depicting musical events. Mount's biographer, Alfred Frankenstein, indicates this may be due to Mount's own abilities as a fiddler.

William Sidney was much admired throughout his life for his abilities as a country style fiddler and he constantly exchanged fiddle tunes with Robert [William Sidney's brother.] 15

These scenes of everyday life can prove revealing to the folklife researcher. In one particular painting, "The Dance of the Haymakers," two items are of special interest. The dancers are depicted "clogging"--a depiction noted by Mount in correspondence. This tradition did not restrict itself to the Southern Appalachians but can also be found today in Otsego County, New York. The second observation is the ubiquitous appearance of blacks constantly absorbing the Anglo tradition.

Another example of the role of blacks can be found in the Andes Recorder, a newspaper in Delaware County, in 1926.

The revival of interest in the country square dances that flourished in a former generation and which is being so widely heralded and popularized by Henry Ford's program of broadcasting the old music, recalls some of the old time fiddlers who were famous in Delaware County in the eighties and nineties.

Prominent among these melody makers was Alvah Belcher, the colored Delhi fiddler, with his noted band. Belcher's band was an attraction that was sure to draw a crowd. Doubtless many of our readers will remember his deep baritone voice, as he called the changes, "swing your partners," "alamand left," and "balance al" [sic]. 16

This description of musicians that were recognizable in comparison with Henry Ford sponsored old time bands brings to question the identity of the "Negro Violinist" found in Central New York and dated to the early twentieth century. This painting in the collections of the New York State Historical Association could be another indication of the black musical presence in Central New York.

The singing tradition has also had a long history. Elizabeth Gardner collected numerous ballads in the first decade of the twentieth century which she later published. Folklorist Harold Thompson included a prodigality of ballads collected in New York during his residence at Cornell University and the State University at Albany. 17 Among these are the omnipresent broadside ballads such as, "The Butcher's Boy," "The Albany Jail," and "The Battle of Erie," occupational songs of the lumbermen, sailors, and canal workers such as, "Jam on Jerry's Rock," and "E-R-I-E."

The Louis C. Jones Folklore Collection 18

comprised of orally collected materials from the nineteen forties includes similar material such as "The Murder in Cohoes," from Cohoes, New York, "Round T' Tom's," from Milford, New York, and "In the Jail of My Old Schenevus Home," from Schenevus, New York. These songs complement the approximately 165 distinct traditional ballads collected in the Catskills of New York by Lynn Kimball and others in the nineteen sixties.

Many Central New Yorkers learned songs from available broadsides as well as from the oral tradition. These broadsides were cheap printed texts on one side available from peddlers and general stores. Many of these broadsides are the sources of ballads of local events such as, "The Murder in Cohoes," and "The Johnstown Flood."

Through a process of assimilation of these prior inputs with commercially disseminated music and local needs, Central New Yorkers developed a music that residents inserted into their culture. The resultant familiarity with content was recently identified as an essential element in the development of country music in the Maritimes by Neil Rosenberg. 20 This element is reinforced by the simple principle of "conformity," based on legend research, that states, "When informants are in contact, their performances are likely to be similar." 21 Despite this conformity, country songs and tunes act in a folkloric manner because of their oral transmission.

CENTRAL NEW YORK PERFORMERS

Ken Kane is an example of an individual whose life has been deeply rooted in the life of his community. He lives on a high point in the area locally known as Gersten Hill in the township of Hartwick in New York State, about two miles outside the village of Toddsville. His "community" consists of the farming community around but not including Cooperstown. He has lived all of his sixty-four years in the house in which he was born, rarely travelling outside his locale.

Ken Kane became exposed to local musical traditions through house dances in the area similar to the ones Floyd Woodhull remembered in Elmira, New York. 22

KK: When I was a small boy, it was all house dances and it was fiddles, banjos, and guitars maybe.

SB: What were these house dances like?

KK: It was mostly local people; 35, 40 maybe, up at a neighbor's house. There was always one fiddler that got called on the most and sometimes they'd take up a collection and pass the hat around. Sometimes you'd get a dollar or so. (Laughs) Of course, that was back around World War One.

SB: This was every weekend?

KK: Oh, pretty much so, yeah.

SB: When did they stop?

KK: Oh, sometimes somebody would make a barrel of cider and they'd go it all night. But there wasn't too much of that. The women would bake cakes or pies, or something and pass it around. Around midnight it would usually shut down and you'd eat and then get up and dance another hour and then come home.²³

Kane had several accidents as a child which allowed him time to learn techniques on several instruments. According to Ken, "Every time I broke some bones, I learned another instrument."²⁴ This is a dubious boast considering that he claimed to have broken twenty eight bones during that period. By the late twenties, however, he was playing guitar, accordion, harmonica, fiddle, and mandolin. When he was sixteen, a shotgun accident left him without a thumb on his picking hand. As a compensation, he developed a unique frailing style on the guitar which he later utilized on the banjo. He built a support on his bow to enable him to continue fiddling.

Kane described his learning process in the following comments:

I just go down here to the grange hall or something, sit down on the bench and listen to it--come home and play it. If I could hear one up in Richfield and get right in the car, come home, I can play it. But if I hear another one afterwards, that's gone--I can't get that other one. That last one is the one I can play unless I know the song.²⁵

Ken began figuring out the tunes he heard his father sing on harmonica and lap organ which were present in his house at around eight years of age. His father's music was part of an occupational tradition. Most of the songs that Ken and his brother Leon remember from their father were sung while hop picking. These songs include "The Ship That Never Returned," "I Had But Fifty Cents," "Goodbye, My Lover, Goodbye," and "Darling Nelly Gray."

Records were scarce in the thirties but radio was extremely popular. National shows such as the WLS Barn Dance and the Grand Ole Opry came into the Kane household along with local country shows from WGY in Schenectady and WRUN in Utica, New York.

Kane continued playing at local dances and became an integral part of the music in the granges, hotels (local euphemism for bars), and fire halls. He accompanied the Weir family, the McLean family, Peter Mateunas, and Levant Rathbun from the Otsego County area. Ken Kane approached his music as an avocation. Its use was for localized entertainment. His position was that of a farmer and welder but he acquired a niche as an accompanist partly due to his failure

as a square dancer. Social centers such as Pop Weir's general store in Oaksville acted as loci for repetition and participation in the traditions of music concomitant with the processes of joke and story telling.

As deeply rooted as Ken Kane is in the folk traditions of the early nineteenth century, his adaptations of modern country music such as "Pistol Packing Mama," "One Golden Curl," "It Makes No Difference Now," and "Tennessee Waltz," are examples of Kane's internalization of complementary elements of a familiar tradition into his own. The selection exhibited by Kane indicates that country music and its ancillary influences are elements in the concepts of work, family, and community tying other individuals by their shared experiences and interests.

The previously mentioned Weir family is very important in any description of Central New York country music. Elial Glen Weir was born in 1890 in Gouvenour, New York, but was better known in the area around Oaksville, New York in Otsego County as Pop Weir.²⁶ He was the father of nine sons and a daughter--five of his children eventually played instruments. Pop Weir introduced many songs from his lumbering experiences and Canadian influences to other musicians as well as his children. Dorrance played guitar; Buster, Les, and Donald played fiddles; and Hy played harmonica. Ken Kane played with Pop Weir and remembered the man's antipathy towards "God damned rebel tunes," or what he considered tunes too fast or choppy for his tastes. However, among the tunes still retained by both Dorrance and Les from their father, there are songs considered Southern because of recorded evidence from that area. Examples are "Giddy Up Napoleon," "Lilly Malone," and "Bury Me Beneath the Willow." Les and Dorrance often condense the traditional ballads and tunes learned from their father while adapting modern country music into the same repertoire. Examples are "Wabash Cannonball," "I Walk the Line," "Pistol Packing Mama," "Too Old to Cut the Mustard," and "There's a Star Spangled Banner Waving Somewhere."

Unlike the Woodhull and McLean families, the Weirs did not often play together. They did not build a cohesiveness common to other family bands. In his discussion of Dorrance Weir, Henry Glassie points out the continuity between the country music songs and older traditional songs in the Weir repertoire.

The Country Music which Dorrance and his friends like is not totally unlike the old New York tradition (both share in the regularity of Anglo-American folk music)...it has been inserted into the same slot in the culture: it functions in the same manner providing dance music for young people, entertainment for their elders, aesthetic outlet for the manly



ERNIE RUSS

and his Orchestra



Upper left: "Negro violinist," anon., 20th cent., 20x16 oil on canvas.

Upper right: Jehile Kirkuff, 1976 (photo by the author).

Lower left: "Barefoot" Bob Kinney, ca. 1960; he still broadcasts from Norwich, N. Y.

Lower right: Ernie Russ & Orch., 1950s. L to r: Stanley "Deacon" Cohoon of Oneonta; Lewie Hill, Richmondville; Robert "Bobbie" Dart, Portlandville; James "Jimmie" Yule, Oaksville; Ernie Russ, Schenevus; Herbert Hume, Edmeston; Carrie Russ, Schenevus (all N. Y. state).



Upper left: Ken Kane, Spring 1976 (photo by the author).

Upper right: Charley Hughes, April 1973 (photo by Bob Sieber).

Below: The first Westernaires, 1957. L to r: Norm Van Pelt, Dick Thompson, Charley Hughes, Ken Shields.

male, and a means to local prestige.²⁷

Although Pop Weir and his family never attempted to become professionals and bring their music farther away from the environs of their home, there were those from the area that did find unfamiliar audiences that shared in these same musical traditions.

Jehile Kirkhuff²⁸ was born in 1907 to German immigrants. His father and uncle had taught him many polkas and waltzes to augment the Anglo-Celtic fiddle tunes he heard from local musicians in his native Northern Pennsylvania. He developed a style marked by slow danceable tempos, single noting, and little variation, partly from exposure to Canadian fiddlers such as Don Messer. In 1926, with Jehile playing fiddle, Charles Dyer, at that time a 76-year-old second fiddler and caller from Norwich, N. Y., and Emily Wailey, a 34-year-old piano accompanist from Norwich, he formed a performing trio that toured central New York offering a two hour show and a square dance following. Their repertoire included polkas, such as "Helena Polka" and "Jenny Lind Polka," waltzes, such as "Westphalia Waltz," clogging tunes, such as "The Acrobat's Clog," and traditional fiddle tunes, such as "Devil's Dream" and "Miss McCloud's Reel," which they brought to Sidney, Afton, Bainbridge, Unadilla, Earlville, and Norwich, in New York State.

Another professional who was prominent in Otsego County was Dan Sherman from Oneonta, New York. He learned to play fiddle in Muncie, Indiana as a child but moved to New York prior to 1909. Shortly thereafter, Dan sponsored entertainment at Pine Lake where he hired a "middle aged man with a fiddle,"²⁹ who called square dances. According to Dan's daughter Tessie, he "played the whole night for fifty cents and played real hoedowns... they were real countrified."³⁰ During this time, Dan and his wife were performing calling themselves "Sherman and DeForest." In the early twenties, Dan organized his family into a hillbilly band called, "Old Dan Sherman and His Family." Later he changed the name to "The Sherman Family," and in 1927 to, "The Sherman Family Oklahoma Cowboys," probably due to the presence of Otto Gray in the area. Sherman's band was sponsored by Crazy Water Crystals on WGY in Schenectady, New York, and WFDL in Syracuse, New York. Tess played the saxophone and a bass fiddle/drum her father had constructed from half of a drum and the neck of a bass fiddle. Dan Sherman played the fiddle accompanied by his wife on banjo. The other members were Tess's husband who played banjo and an unidentified accordion player. Their repertoire was dictated by Dan who taught them songs from his oral tradition acquired in his boyhood and from an elderly aunt. Additional songs were obtained from song books and the personal compositions of Dan Sherman.

Later in the thirties, Dan bought a pavilion at Goodyear Lake near Oneonta where he sponsored regular barn dances which the family broadcast over WDOS in Oneonta. When he wasn't playing

with his family, he performed with Toddy's Tune Toppers led by Lee Todd of Cliffside, New York. Born in 1900, Lee played guitar and featured in his band a dobro, banjo, bass, plus Dan's fiddling and comedy routines.

In a student-conducted interview, Tessie Sherman appeared surprised when her interviewer asked, "Did they have any other country-western/hillbilly stars up here, popular around then?" She answered, "Oh yes, millions of them... Haven't you heard? Every band around here is hillbilly."³¹

The second generation of Northern country music is represented by a group like Charley Hughes and the Westernaires. They assimilated the fiddle tunes and traditional songs learned from their parents with the current commercially disseminated music heard on the radio. Their style was characterized by a swing beat and electric instruments, but they never discarded the old square dances intrinsic to their audiences.

Charley Hughes³² was born in Oneonta, New York, in 1935 but has lived on the same 300 acre farm in Milford since 1937. Charley was exposed to the country music tradition through the fiddle and guitar playing of his uncle and his father Abe, who also played with Ken Kane. He remembers a few house dances still continuing during that time. At the age of sixteen, he performed in public, playing guitar and fiddle with a steel guitarist named Howard Sutton, mostly in the Worcester, New York area. His country stylings were reinforced by his contact with Barefoot Bob Kinney, an already accomplished country performer from Chenango County in New York. Kinney began in radio on the Rural Radio Network in Ithaca, New York, in 1947 at the age of 26. Beginning in 1953, Kinney regularly appeared on WCHN in Norwich, New York, singing and playing guitar for local sponsors. He also operated a "hillbilly park" near Bainbridge, New York, known as Echo Lake which regularly featured local musicians. Together with Hughes, Kinney made numerous radio and personal appearances throughout the Butternuts Valley.

In 1953 Charley Hughes joined the "Rhythm Rangers," with Eddie Davidovich, Neil Ralston, Clayton Loucks, and Johnny Van Pelt. They emphasized square dances, polkas, and current country music. Charley formed the first "Westernaires" in 1957 with Johnny Van Pelt on steel guitar, Ken Shields on fiddle, and Dick Thompson on bass. Thompson later left to form his own group, "The Driftwoods." Charley rejected the idea of travelling preferring to play locally enabling him to continue farming with his family. In 1960 the band began playing every Saturday at the Bell Hotel ("Hotel" again connotes a bar.) in Schenectady, New York. Over the next five years the Westernaires replaced members of the band with fiddler Elden "Speedy" Wyman, drummer Warren Grossman, vocalist and bass player Clifford Fitch, and lead guitarist Jimmy

Wright. They continued playing old time tunes, square dances, polkas, and current country songs for a dedicated local following.

The real driving force of the Westernaires is guitarist Jimmy Wright³³ who was born in Stamford, New York in 1916. His father was a fiddler and guitarist who performed for square dances in the Stamford area. By the age of ten Jimmy was proficient on the harmonica, guitar, and fiddle. In 1928, he won the title of the Delaware County Harmonica Champion. In 1936 he moved to Corning, New York where he attended dances at the Woodhull's "Old Barn" in Elmira and added many of Floyd Woodhull's calls to his own repertoire. In 1939 he joined the "Catskill Sodbusters" playing barn dances and the Smalley Theater Circuit from Cooperstown to Walton, New York. Instruments played in the band included banjo, dobro, guitar, fiddle, and harmonica, playing in Wright's words, "hillbilly music." During World War II he toured army bases with the USO billed as a "Cowboy Country Singer." During this period he became greatly influenced by jazz and incorporated jazz stylings in his music. He developed this idea in country music in his association with Charley Hughes resulting in a distinctive swing flavor in the Westernaires' songs.

This idea of adding a swing beat was not totally new to the area or even restricted to "Western Swing" bands. Neil Rosenberg has pointed out similarities between Western Swing and the bands of Don Messer.³⁴ A fiddler from Schenectady, New York, Ernie Russ, started a "hillbilly and jazz" band in the early twenties to satisfy the demands of both tastes in the area.³⁵ The band was probably the first to use horn and reed instruments for square dances in the area. In 1940 Ernie Russ formed an "orchestra" consisting of a piano, saxophone, trumpet, drums, guitar, and his own fiddle. The band has been together since that time and remains popular today.

Clifford Fitch is the bass player³⁶ for the Westernaires and was born near Burlington Flats, New York in Otsego County in 1945. In his junior year in high school, he joined a West Winfield group called, "The Horton Valley Boys." After this experience he played rhythm guitar and sang in the Oaksville area with the band of his wife's uncle, Clyde "Chub" McLean. The McLean family

band consisted of Chub on mandolin, harmonica, and fiddle; Leonard, better known as "Pennie" on guitar, Ron on guitar, and Les Weir on fiddle. They played in the Oaksville Hotel and at their own barn dances in the Hartwick area. A feature of their dances is frequent clogging tunes in which they often lead the dancing. Chub was born in 1925³⁷ and became exposed to country music through house dances, radio, and local musicians such as his brother-in-law, Abe Hughes. Through this association with Charley Hughes' father, the two families experienced frequent musical interchanges.

The Westernaires played sixteen years in Schenectady until they decided to retire in 1976. During that time they accompanied Hawkshaw Hawkins for a short time but otherwise never sought any recognition. Through their long and intimate relationship with their community, they became an integral part of the local culture. Their example has sparked many more "modern" country bands that feature more contemporary songs while still preserving the old square dances and polkas.

The variation that square dance calls and country songs exhibit between different performers is indicative of a traditional process. The songs are transmitted both vertically and horizontally between peers and elders. The barn dances, grange halls, and bars remain the centers for country music performances and horizontal transmission. This process is often characterized by a condensation of the lyrics or calls, and deletion of extra verses or substitution of new ones. Through this process, tunes and songs are interchanged and are often embellished.

The family gatherings and reunions have replaced the house dances as centers for vertical transmission from elders to younger members of the family. Calls and songs are transmitted from the old tradition and varied according to the degree of modern country influences imputed in the process. It is clear that both vertical and horizontal processes have produced a continuously evolving and traditional music known as "country music." This music is the synthesis of internalized traditions and selected externalized styles, songs, and influences from other segments into a locally recognizable form.³⁸

FOOTNOTES

1. Simon Bronner, "Woodhull's Old Tyme Masters: A Hillbilly Band in the Northern Tradition," JEMF Quarterly 12 (Summer 1976), 54-63.
2. Bill Malone, Country Music, USA, (Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press, 1968); Bill Malone has reiterated this argument in, "Country Music, The South, and Americanism," Mississippi Folklore Register X (Spring 1976), 54-66.
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4. All figures derive from Barclay G. Jones and Jon T. Long, Studies in Regional Development (Ithaca, New York: Cornell Community and Resource Development Series) except where otherwise indicated.

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6. Robert Bethke, "Old Time Fiddling and Social Dance in Central St. Lawrence County," New York Folklore Quarterly 30 (Sept 1974), 167.
7. Department of Rural Sociology, The People of Otsego County, New York (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University, August 1963).
8. Bill Malone, Country Music, USA, p. 4.
9. Ibid., p. 5.
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11. Interview with Ken Kane, Hartwick, New York, 5 April 1976.
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16. "When Violin Was a 'Fiddle', Days of Yore When Alvah Belcher Was Famous Recalled," Andes Recorder, (22 January 1926), p. 1.
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19. Lynn Kimball, "Music of the Catskills," Archive of New York State Folklife, Cooperstown, New York, 1965.
20. Neil V. Rosenberg, "Country Music in the Maritimes: Two Studies," Memorial University of Newfoundland Reprint Series No. 2, 1976, p. 2.
21. Roderick J. Roberts, "The Powers Boys, An Historical Legend: Its Formation and Function," (Ph. D. Dissertation, Indiana University, 1973) p. 206.
22. Simon Bronner, "Woodhull's Old Tyme Masters," pp. 54-56.
23. Interview with Ken Kane, Hartwick, New York, 5 April 1976.
24. Interview with Ken Kane, Hartwick, New York, 13 April 1976.
25. Interview with Ken Kane, Hartwick, New York, 5 May 1976.
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27. Henry Glassie, "Take That Night Train to Selma: An Excursion to the Outskirts of Scholarship," Folksongs and Their Makers edited by Ray Browne, (Bowling Green, Ohio: Bowling Green University Popular Press, 1971) p. 41.
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29. Michael O'Lear, "Interview With Tessie Sherman," Archive of New York State Folklife, Cooperstown, New York, 1974, p. 1.
30. Ibid., pp. 3-4.
31. Ibid.
32. Information based on interview with Charley Hughes, Milford, New York, 10 April 1976; Cherry Valley, New York, 4 September 1976.
33. Information based on interviews with Jimmy Wright, Milford, New York, 10 April 1976; Cherry Valley, New York, 4 September 1976.

34. Neil Rosenberg, "Country Music in the Maritimes," p. 4.
35. Information based on interview with Ernie Russ, Milford, New York, 5 March 1977.
36. Information based on interviews with Clifford Fitch, Milford, New York, 10 April 1976; Cherry Valley, New York, 4 September 1976.
37. Information based upon interviews with Clyde McLean, Martin McLean, and Leonard McLean, Hartwick, New York, 19 March 1976.
38. Portions of this article were presented as papers to the New York Folklore Society Meeting, September 1976, Cooperstown, New York, and the American Folklore Society Meeting, November 1976, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

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Wm Sidney Mount: "Dance of the Haymakers (Music is Contagious)," 1845. Oil on canvas
 Original at the Museums at Stony Brook; gift of Mr and Mrs Ward Melville, 1950.

MIGUEL COVARRUBIAS' JAZZ AND BLUES MUSICIANS

By Archie Green

My previous feature, on Lawrence Levine's *Black Culture and Black Consciousness*, offered several comparative illustrations of musical life in the United States, stereotypes as well as ethnographic sketches. In selecting examples from sheet music covers and journal articles for that presentation, I searched my memory to ask when I had first become conscious of any portraits of Negro musicians. The time span which came to mind was 1930-1935; the artist was Miguel Covarrubias; the medium was *Vanity Fair*. This ultra-sophisticated magazine, issued from 1914 to 1936, never circulated widely among working class or immigrant families. It simply did not belong on the "wrong side of the tracks." Yet, through a circumstance of cultural fluidity, I was an avid reader of *Vanity Fair* during junior and senior high school years. My elder sister, then in college, subscribed and I was caught up by its magnificent color reproductions of modern art and by its superb photography. The magazine was visually compelling and pulled me, unconsciously at that time, to a sense of space and style in layout and typography.

One of *Vanity Fair's* contributors during its second decade was Miguel Covarrubias, especially liked for his caricatures of popular figures from stage, screen, sports, and the political arena. Even as a youngster I knew that Covarrubias, in some strange way, made his subjects glamorous while he simultaneously caught their foibles. Long before I understood the word "ambivalence," Covarrubias helped prepare me to see linked contrasts within personality and shared contrasts between personages. For *Vanity Fair* he painted a series of "Impossible Interviews," always pairing unlikely partners in dialogue—for example, Greta Garbo and Calvin Coolidge, or Walter Winchell and Walter Lippmann. Because of this early exposure, I feel that I have known Covarrubias all my life, yet never met him, nor interviewed anyone who worked closely with him. Literally, it was in the summer of 1977 that the question was posed: When did I first see any Covarrubias musicians, and why did they linger in mind for more than four decades?

It was relatively easy to check bound volumes of *Vanity Fair* in order to go back into the past and look again at favorite drawings and photographs. However, it was difficult to reconstruct the precise circumstances under

which Covarrubias encountered Afro-American music. In this report for readers of the *JEMF Quarterly* I can reproduce a handful of his early works, add a brief biographical account, and speculate on the ideas which framed his view of jazz and blues. I have not yet found any correspondence by Covarrubias, or interview with him, detailing his personal affection for musicians and their audience. Hopefully, this commentary will bring additional material to the surface. Covarrubias is an important artist in his own right; as well, he helps us understand the ways in which black musicians were received in white America.

Miguel Covarrubias was born in 1904 into a rich and powerful family in Mexico City, where his father was an engineer and official in the Carranza Government. As a young cartographer in a federal bureau, Miguel turned away from this work to cartooning, and some of his drawings were syndicated in Latin-American newspapers. He also taught arts and crafts in the then-new rural, outdoor schools for the poor. The influential poet Jose Juan Tablada persuaded officials close to President Obregon to send Covarrubias to New York City for formal study. Arriving in mid-summer 1923, he neglected art school and turned again to caricatures for newspapers and magazines. His first published cartoons in the United States appeared in Bayard Swope's *New York World* before the year's end.

In 1925 Alfred Knopf published Covarrubias' first book, *The Prince of Wales and Other Famous Americans*. It held sixty-six portraits, many of figures perceived today as representative of the Roaring Twenties or the Jazz Age: Rudolph Valentino, Alexander Woolcott, Mary Pickford, Babe Ruth, Fannie Brice, Will Rogers, Florence Mills. The latter had starred during 1921 in *Shuffle Along*, an all-Negro musical, and a groundbreaker in Broadway's acceptance of black artistry. Miss Mills died in 1927, early in her career, at the age of thirty-two. At her funeral a flock of blackbirds was released to freedom, marking her last great role in *The Blackbirds of 1927*.

I note this attention to Florence Mills by Covarrubias because it was a portent. In 1927 Alfred Knopf published Covarrubias' second book, *Negro Drawings*. From its fifty-seven plates I select five for reproduction: "Blues Singer," "Dancing the Blues," "Orchestra," "Drummer,"

"Come to Jesus." These items cannot represent the entire book, but they help us see black music, sacred and secular, during the 1920s in a major urban setting. Further, the portraits of singer and dancer are a sharp reminder that the word *blues* itself has long evoked the city as well as the country, the urbane as well as the pastoral.

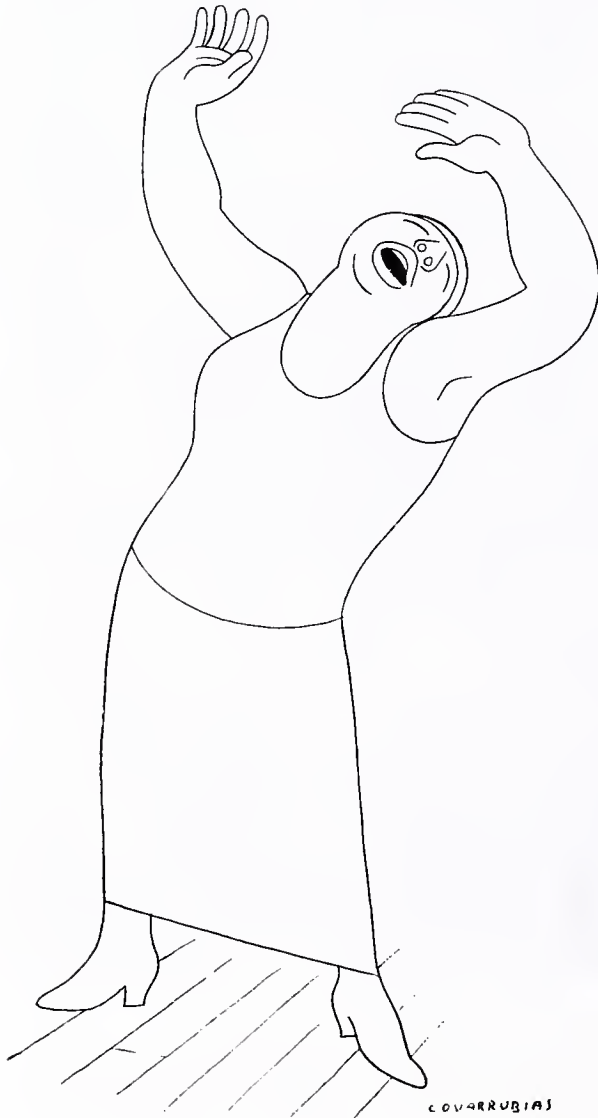
A few notes on Covarrubias' role in *Vanity Fair* will serve to establish a bench mark against which to judge his eventual shifts in subject matter. The issue for January 1924 marked his

debut with a tiny "parody portrait" of Heywood Broun, as well as a separate page holding seven caricatures of theatrical celebrities. Six were by the newcomer; the seventh was of Covarrubias by Ralph Barton, one of the decade's most eminent caricaturists. For years to come Covarrubias drew individual figures for *Vanity Fair* of "the better liked lads of the village" or Gotham's literati and cognoscenti. These full pages, grouped by theme or setting, usually held ludicrous captions for each individual and sometimes a collective editorial comment.

In December 1924 Covarrubias presented eight drawings of "The New Negro" in the realm of entertainment, and Eric Walrond, a black writer, provided arch captions. A *Vanity Fair* staff member distinguished these Harlem subjects from former stock figures exploited on the stage such as the Ducky Banjo-Player, the Cotton Picker, the Mammy Singer, and the Lullaby Crooner. Covarrubias added six more drawings of new entertainers in February 1925 and *Vanity Fair* announced: "Rich in song and folk lore, Harlem has become the Mecca not only of the Negro poet and creative artist, but also of the writer of the musical review. The songs and dances which spring into being on Harlem pavements and in cabarets eventually find their way to Broadway."

In May 1925 Covarrubias juxtaposed two "Horrors of Fifth Avenue Society," a highbrow dining scene and a Greenwich Village scene of revelry. The latter, an archetypal gathering of intellectuals, is as pungent today as it was a half-century ago. The artist followed in March 1926 with a two-page spread, no longer of isolated individuals, but rather of a mural-like panorama about movie making. For April's issue he commented on the then-current dance craze in a full page cartoon, "A Charleston Lesson in the Great Metropolis." In January 1927 he selected Mexico to satirize Hollywood's view of the country he knew from birth. Two agrarians drawn sympathetically, a cornfield peon and his wife, represent the earliest Mexican folklife scenes by this artist in *Vanity Fair*.

Many, but not all, of Covarrubias' Harlem sketches from *Vanity Fair* were selected for inclusion in his *Negro Drawings*. No retrospective view of this book is possible without knowing something of the Harlem Renaissance, in general, and Carl Van Vechten, in particular. Here, it need be said only that during the 1920s a group of Harlem poets, novelists, artists, and musicians reached out both to a fresh exploration of their roots, and to an optimistic presentation of their creativity to a wide audience. This explosive cultural phenomenon had divergent strands; while some intellectuals sought African patterns and modalities, others sought entrance into mainstream America. Black creators turned to three models: emphasis on naive folkways and vernacular speech; attention to experimental abstraction and free association; focus on social realism, regionalism, and political vision. The Harlem Renaissance's exuberance is not yet



dissipated, and can be felt in the achievement of men as diverse as James Weldon Johnson, Alain Locke, Claude McKay, Countee Cullen, Arna Bon-temps, Langston Hughes.

One white man mesmerized by black culture in the 1920s was Carl Van Vechten. Sensitive and gregarious, he was a newspaper music critic for nearly 20 years. Also, he wrote novels, pioneered in serious dance criticism, photographed celebrities, gave exotic parties, and acted as a mediator between black authors and the white world of publication and privilege. For many years his novel *Nigger Heaven* (1926) served as both a scapegoat and a cluster point for controversy in evaluating the Harlem Renaissance. Today, we tend to see Van Vechten's achievement more as a catalyst than novelist. His monuments are three magnificent archives of Negro letters and art which he formed at Yale, Fisk, and Howard Universities.

Carl Van Vechten prefaced Miguel Covarrubias' *The Prince of Wales and Other Famous Americans*. Accounting for their initial meeting on 12 September 1923, at the former's apartment, he reported that a mutual friend brought the shy foreigner--not yet fluent in English--to meet Van Vechten, who was initially taken by the artist's portfolio of Mexican sketches. The writer quickly arranged for the young man a series of sittings with H. L. Mencken, Eva Le Gallienne, and other famous subjects, and initiated him into the ritualistic luncheons at the Algonquin Hotel. More importantly, he introduced Covarrubias to publisher Alfred Knopf, to fellow artist Ralph Barton, and to Frank Crowninshield, editor of *Vanity Fair*. These latter two, respectively, wrote the preface and introduction to Covarrubias' *Negro Drawings*. Barton was proud that he, Van Vechten, and Crowninshield were first "to send up huzzas" when Covarrubias appeared in New York, and likened his work to the Cro-Magnon incised drawings in the caves near Altamira.

Frank Crowninshield shall live as long as his magazine *Vanity Fair* is used by students of American expression. I am especially interested in his contribution to *Negro Drawings* because he provided a few clues to early influences on Covarrubias--Bagaria, a Mexican newspaper cartoonist, and Diego de Rivera, the master muralist. In a recent conversation at Austin, Texas with my colleague Américo Paredes, I speculated as to Covarrubias' early knowledge of folklore. Was he especially pulled to Harlem musicians as representing earthy, primitive souls because he had previously learned something of folk culture and its role in shaping Mexican national identity? Or, conversely, was he pulled to jazz musicians because they were then breaking out of the bounds of black life to represent striking or sophisticated values for white America? Or did he feel that these performers integrated within their music folk and avant-garde styles? Further, did he hear jazz and blues as one music or distinguish the two forms? Neither I nor

Paredes knows; perhaps a biographer of Covarrubias will provide an answer.

When *Negro Drawings* appeared it was accorded a serious review by Walter Pach in the *New York Herald Tribune Books* (6 November 1927). The critic responded warmly to the artist's draftsmanship, his sculpture-like skill in handling line and plane. He also enjoyed the obvious good spirit which Covarrubias found in Harlem, not only in flashy cabaret life but also in settings appropriate to spiritual singing. Attempting to account for the book's evocation of both primitive and sophisticated norms, Pach asserted that this derived from the artist's Mexican heritage where folk religiosity and national heroism coexisted with modernity's inventions and culture.

Between the publication of *The Prince of Wales and Other Famous Americans* and of *Negro Drawings*, Covarrubias illustrated William Christopher Handy's *Blues: An Anthology*, published in 1926 by Albert and Charles Boni. This handsome compilation, with a perceptive foreword by Abbe Niles, was the first widely popular book to introduce blues to a white audience. As well, it helped black intellectuals deal with blues as a respectable art form. Among others, the book was praised by Edmund Wilson, Harry Hansen, Sigmond Spaeth, and Carl Van Vechten. The years 1925-1926 were tremendously important in the publication of popular and academic books on Negro lore by James Weldon Johnson and J. Rosamond Johnson, Howard W. Odum and Guy B. Johnson, Dorothy Scarborough, Robert Emmet Kennedy, Nicolas Ballanta-Taylor, and Newbell Niles Puckett. Their works were well complemented by *Blues: An Anthology*.

It is my belief that Miguel Covarrubias understood W. C. Handy and Abbe Niles' needs perfectly. In the initial years of the book's reception, he made graphic for white enthusiasts the vitality with which they were associating performers such as Ma Rainey, Bessie Smith, Louis Armstrong, and Duke Ellington. More importantly, the young foreigner's artistry was not offensive to Negro readers. In the *Saturday Review of Literature* (19 June 1926), James Weldon Johnson ended a long and generous appraisal of Handy's anthology by stating that Covarrubias' beautiful illustrations "alone make the book worthwhile." In *Opportunity* (August 1926), Langston Hughes offered Handy, Niles, Covarrubias and the two Bonis "a bouquet of blue flowers." Responding to the gathered songs in their own images, the poet especially praised Covarrubias' drawing of "a sad eyed mama" (plate four in original edition) as the very soul of the blues. Beyond her portrait, Hughes saw "the desolate railroad track streets in America, and all the dissolute houses facing those streets, and sometimes disconsolate souls who sing: feelin' tomorrow...."

From the perspective of 1977, with extensive and analytical commentaries on the blues at hand, it is difficult to look back in time and appreciate the initial impact of *Blues: An Anthology*.

One can now use it either to reconstruct the ambience of the 1920s, when blues music was on a figurative threshold, or treat it as a background piece for recent studies by Paul Oliver, Charles Keil, David Evans, Jeff Todd Titon, Michael Haralambos, and others. Fortunately, the Handy book has had a long life in print. In 1949 it was altered slightly and reissued as *A Treasury of the Blues*; in 1972, under its original name, it was revised by Jerry Silverman and published both in hardcover and paperback. Because *Blues: An Anthology* is widely available in libraries, I shall reproduce from it only one little drawing by Covarrubias of Handy--a tribute to "The Father of the Blues."



W. C. HANDY

Several other books especially interesting to folklorists were illustrated by Covarrubias. In 1930 Albert and Charles Boni published *Frankie and Johnny*, an original drama by John Huston based upon the popular folksong, with a series of ballad variants appended to the play. (In 1968 this book was reissued by Benjamin Blom.) Covarrubias was lavish in his treatment of Huston's play, offering more than two dozen watercolors and line drawings, which reflected a melding of black and white figures--fully appropriate to a ballad in Anglo- and Afro-American traditions. There is a curious parallel between this Huston/Covarrubias book and a similar one, *The Saga of Frankie and Johnny*, illustrated by John Held, Jr., published by Walter McKee, also in 1930. Although Held is mainly recalled for raccoon-coated Sheiks and razor-thin Shebas of the Jazz Age, he also developed a melodramatic woodcut style (with linoleum block cut or with pen-and-ink on scratchboard) for books of ballad texts and folksong parodies.

Neither John Held, Jr. nor Miguel Covar-

rubias will be remembered for their particular contribution to the "Frankie and Johnny" saga. However, neither one can be disassociated from the visual force of jazz in the 1920s. While it may be disconcerting to some to cope with jazz as something seen as well as heard, there is no way to isolate its impact only to aural phenomena. Unfortunately, we lack a comparative study of disparate artists who created memorable jazz scenes: Miguel Covarrubias, Aaron Douglas, Jacob Lawrence, Thomas Hart Benton, Jan Matulka, Fernand Leger.

Before looking at the handful of Covarrubias' musicians reproduced here, I shall mention an important book on folklore illustrated by him. During 1935, J. B. Lippincott published Zora Neale Hurston's *Mules and Men*. Essentially, it included a wide variety of Negro folklore collected from turpentine workers in Florida and voodoo practices from others in Louisiana. Miss Hurston had studied anthropology with Franz Boas at Columbia University, but tried in her professional writing to reach an audience far beyond the *Journal of American Folklore* or the *American Anthropologist*. The author of several fine novels and a moving autobiography, she approached her fieldwork as if it formed the data for a novel and as if she were a character within it. I have selected but two pages from *Mules and Men* to show how close Covarrubias came to Miss Hurston's mood as a popularizer of folklore.

Because my emphasis here is on that portion of Covarrubias' work which stresses jazz and blues, I shall mention only briefly three additional books on Negro life which he illustrated. He prepared sixteen lithographs and a colophon for the Limited Editions Club printing of Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1938). The artist's treatment of Stowe's characters and scenes was tender in strong contrast to the hyperbole and humor in *Vanity Fair* caricatures. A decade earlier the Bonis had reissued Captain Theodore Canot's (Theophilus Conneau) *Adventures of an African Slave* edited by Malcolm Cowley (1928). This grisly narrative of 1854 was enhanced by Covarrubias' work, and gave him an opportunity to delve into tribal life.

In sharp contrast to either of these stood Taylor Gordon's flamboyant "folk-autobiography" *Born To Be*, published in 1929 by Covici-Friede. Gordon, a jack-of-all-trades and a fine singer of spirituals, had drifted from a Montana hamlet to Harlem where, among other encounters, he fell in with Carl Van Vechten. For the book, Miguel Covarrubias prepared nine satiric drawings, including one of Gordon "Singin' for Royalty." The book was reissued in 1975 by the University of Washington Press with a fine introduction by Robert Hemenway, a detail of which is pertinent to my view of Covarrubias.

When *Born To Be* was reviewed initially, Gordon himself praised the drawings by Covarrubias, but some critics objected to the stylized

caricatures of Negroes. For example, W. E. B. Du Bois, the editor of *Crisis*, who accused Gordon of "'cutting up' for the white folks," also said of the artist, "I could exist quite happily if Covarrubias had never been born." Hemenway wisely suggests that the book needed judgment for its own values and not for its drawings. I agree, but note also that Covarrubias' Negro art needed (and continues to need) evaluation as commentary on black life in the United States. Because he was Mexican, his name does not appear in standard surveys of Afro-American art. Because he returned to Mexico for the major portion of his career, he is not discussed in standard surveys of American art. Those of us who place jazz and blues at the height of national creativity are diminished by inattention to Covarrubias' pencil and brush.

At this juncture I shall compress into a few paragraphs some salient facts about Covarrubias' life "after Harlem." Complementary to such minute-biography, is reproduced as early self-portrait—one titled "The Murderer," and used tellingly at the very end of *The Prince of Wales and Other Famous Americans*. If it were proper to open the book with a color plate of "an American subject," Edward, the Duke of Windsor, then it was also proper to close it with the young Mexican artist—arms discreetly outstretched,



greeting all of us, smiling at our complexity.

From his arrival in New York, Covarrubias did not confine himself to magazines and books, but also designed for the stage. In 1925 he created sets for two Theatre Guild productions, George Bernard Shaw's *Androcles and the Lion*, and *Garrick Gaities*, an early review by Rodgers and Hart. A Guggenheim fellowship during 1930 took Covarrubias to Bali; *The Island of Bali* was published in 1937. For the Golden Gate Exposition of 1939 he completed a mural of six decorative panel maps based on Pacific flora, fauna, and island life. These were widely distributed by means of inexpensive lithography. His Bali book and exposition maps marked a major turn away from popular art (*Vanity Fair*, the *New Yorker*, and other periodicals) to archaeology and ethnology.

In 1933 the Columbia University Press issued Frank Tannenbaum's *Peace by Revolution*, a social history of the Mexican people. For the book Covarrubias prepared 15 line drawings consisting mainly of political caricatures, balanced by a few vignettes of native folk dance. In a sense, these latter depictions of Indian life dominated Covarrubias' work for the rest of his days. About 1940 he returned home, where he began work with Olmec art and artifact at the Isthmus of Tehuantepec; *Mexico South* (1946) resulted from this fieldwork. It was followed by two magnificently illustrated and beautifully printed studies: *The Eagle, the Jaguar, and the Serpent* (1954) covered aboriginal art north of Mexico; *Indian Art of Mexico and Central America* (1957) extended the range. He was assisted in these books by his wife Rose, a photographer. A projected work on South American native art to complete the trilogy was never finished, for Miguel Covarrubias died on 4 February 1957 in his native Mexico City. Fittingly, before burial, his body was placed in his country's National Museum of Anthropology and History. This honor flowed from Covarrubias' prolific artistry, his participation as a cultural public servant, and his role as advisor to the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

It can be seen that a strong thread of attention to individual character and to native lifestyle connected Covarrubias' earliest droll or satiric caricatures, through several murals in Mexico City, to his final anthropological books. Although he did not achieve the power of comparable painters like Rivera or Orozco, Covarrubias continues to live in his many books, his countless graphics, and his colorful easel paintings. The force of romantic nationalism unleashed by the Mexican Revolution is not yet spent. Attention to Indian lore, as well as to the ever shifting mix in Mexican life between European modes and indigenous expression, continues. It is in this very large frame where the discipline ethnology and a people's quest for national identity converge that Covarrubias' ultimate contribution will be measured.

I have not prepared a discrete bibliography on Covarrubias for this feature; his works as well as books illustrated by him are found in many libraries. Readers for whom his name is new will find great pleasure in seeking out his art. A splendid gathering of Covarrubias originals, from the collection of his friend, photographer Nickolas Muray, is held by the Iconography Collection, Humanities Research Center, University of Texas. Additionally, a catalog for a 1968 exhibit prepared by Richard Merkin is available from the Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design: *The Jazz Age as Seen Through the Eyes of Ralph Barton, Miguel Covarrubias, and John Held, Jr.* Finally, a technical note: Covarrubias was skilled in lithography, ink drawing, pencil, crayon, wash, watercolor, gouache, and oil; however, most of his presentations in books and periodicals were not specified in terms of format or process.

Returning to a special folkloric concern—one that has underpinned my *JEMF Quarterly* commentaries for a decade—I ask: How did any artists help Americans visualize folk society? Did they keep "the folk" apart by sketching or painting its members as strange and unusual? Did they help pull "the folk" out of isolation by making its representatives familiar in large society? How did they balance opposing views of "the primitive" as exotic and desired or repugnant and backward? Obviously, there are no ready paths through this maze.

To begin to apply such queries to Covarrubias' view of "the folk" in the United States, we have only his early artistic work in Harlem to suggest an affection for jazz and blues musicians, or thoughts about the music itself. It is difficult for me to believe that he never defined this music as folk, but I have no hard data to firm my supposition. We do know that his close friend Carl Van Vechten talked about folklore with Langston Hughes, Zora Neale Hurston, and others. Was Covarrubias ever present at such sessions?

Those who wish to reconstruct the large context in which Covarrubias took his sketchbook to Harlem, must follow a path to Van Vechten's door, and, by extension, to that of his friend James Weldon Johnson. In detailing the early appreciation of blues by these two intellectuals, I would like to suggest that, like theirs, Covarrubias' perception of the blues as a discrete form was simultaneously esthetic and normative.

For a series of articles and reviews in *Vanity Fair* and the *New York Herald Tribune Books*, which appeared while Covarrubias sketched in Harlem, Van Vechten presented to a receptive audience a closely-reasoned and then-new notion of blues as Negro folksong. It is axiomatic that early jazz and blues did not have to be explicated formally within the folk society which nourished this music, but it did have to be interpreted for white auditors literally beyond the levee camp or barrelhouse. In the years before World War I, when "St. Louis Blues"

and similar tunes became national hits, many cultural arbiters, white and black, heard jazz/blues as "degenerate" or "perverted" art. Reversing this pejorative stance took several decades and the drive of a number of brave commentators.

The leading black writer to break through the wall around the blues was James Weldon Johnson. A man of great talent—poet, novelist, editor, linguist, lawyer, diplomat, and officer in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People—he knew music from the inside. At the turn of the century, with brother Rosamond and friend Bob Cole, he had collaborated in successful variety shows, some of which incorporated ragtime tunes. Johnson knew firsthand the making of a hit, "Oh, Didn't He Ramble," out of an unprintable folksong. Reflecting on such experience, he was among the earliest writers to cope openly with the ambivalence faced by creators pulled from folk roots to popular and classical models. How could they help overcome the comic stereotypes of the minstrel stage? Could one best advance "the race" by casting spirituals into settings for formal liturgical music or by keeping them close in style to original performance?

For its issue of 7 October 1905, *Charities* presented "The Negro in the Cities of the North," and Johnson contributed a brief sketch. He wrote, "It would be interesting to trace historically the part that has been played in music by the Negro, beginning with the old slave and plantation songs and coming on down through the age of minstrelsy to the present efforts being made both in classic and popular music." To develop an evolutionary progression from slave song to classical composition was not unusual. Johnson, however, was challenging in 1905 in that he also accepted a progression to popular music of the day. The dominant view had been expressed forcibly by W. E. B. Du Bois in *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903). Working within a European-inspired framework, which saw folksong as both the spontaneous expression of a people's soul and as the natural base for high art, Du Bois treasured spirituals or "sorrow songs." Because of education and personal esthetic, he could not extend his judgment of folksong to vernacular material, labeling "minstrel" songs, "coon" songs, and "gospel" hymns as "debasements and imitations" of "real Negro melodies."

By 1912 Johnson took a step in resolving the dichotomy posed in Du Bois' typology. In *The Autobiography of an Ex-Colored Man*, a highly personal novel, Johnson's unnamed protagonist lived for part of his apprenticeship in New York's Tenderloin district as a gambler and ragtime pianist. In time the hero travelled south to study rural music as a source for elegant composition. I select this single theme not to exaggerate its seeming rejection of folk music, but rather to present it as background for Johnson's cogent praise within *The Autobiography* . . . of Negro folk expression: spirituals, tales,









LOVARRUBIA

sermons, dance (cakewalk), ragtime. In using his novel to touch on a single black composer's dilemma, Johnson came to value folk creativity in heroic terms--beautiful intrinsically, and useful in building racial pride. He had revealed this theme previously in a poem of 1908 honoring the shapers of slave songs, "O Black and Unknown Bards."

A decade after the novel appeared Johnson elaborated on Negro folklore, and, significantly, included its newest element, the blues. In his pioneer anthology *The Book of American Negro Poetry* (1922), he stated that ragtime, "an all-conquering, American music," came directly from Negro life in "the questionable resorts" of Mississippi River towns. These songs, which "jes' grew" out of black folk experience, were constantly appropriated into white popular music. By 1922 he knew that a flood of blues also "jes' grew," and that they too were then moving into wide popularity. Using the grab-bag term *ragtime* to cover items such as Handy's "Memphis Blues," as well as two blues recently sung by "colored soldiers in France," Johnson called for serious attention to this folk creation paralleling that to spirituals and narratives.

The music critic H. E. Krehbiel, in the *New York Tribune*, took bitter exception to Johnson's linkage of folklore, ragtime, jazz, and blues, asserting that tunes taken down from the lips of harlots should not be admitted to the canon of folksong. Time, of course, was on Johnson's side in the dispute. Dorothy Scarborough, for academic readers, wrote about "The 'Blues' as Folk-Songs" (*Publications of the Texas Folk-Lore Society*, 1923). By the middle of the decade, Carl Van Vechten, Abbe Niles, and others, entered the fray. Following Johnson's lead, as early as 1917, Van Vechten had praised black and white composers of folk-derived ragtime for capturing the complicated vigor of American life. Van Vechten's transition from rag to blues aficionado in the early 1920s paralleled the dissemination of race records, but Van Vechten heard living blues in New York clubs as well at his own parties rather than depending on discs.

In "The Black Blues" (*Vanity Fair*, August 1925), Van Vechten stated that blues, like spirituals, were folksongs in terms of origin, content, and performance. Noting their improvised birth in the country, subsequent movement to Southern dives, and arrival in Harlem clubs, Van Vechten wrote: Blues "that have achieved publication or performance under sophisticated auspices have generally passed through a process of transmutation." This process made cabaret blues and phonograph records "transcribed versions of folksongs." The critic was on target in 1925; he holds up in 1977. His article's conclusion was also prescient in that it asked for future attention to blues as an "essential part of Negro folklore."

Frequently, Van Vechten angered black intellectuals by attention to the seamy contents within blues; at times, he also angered them by his

plea that they "climb to fame" by building on their race heritage. Literally, he called for Negroes to cease gifting their lore to white authors and to present their people's culture in its own terms. Obviously, Van Vechten was both a critic and a polemicist, but most directly he was a partisan of black expression. To illustrate (*Vanity Fair*, October 1925) he urged Broadway musical producers to engage Bessie Smith "to sing Blues, not blues written by Sissle and Blake or Irving Berlin, but honest-to-God Blues, full of trouble and pain and misery and heartache and tribulation."

It is fair to assume that Covarrubias heard Van Vechten talk directly in this vein, but I do not know what weight, if any, the actual word *folk* held in guiding the artist's eye and hand. Here, I raise a large question not fully explored by either art historians or folklorists. Negro artists in the United States during the 1920s hardly escaped grappling with *folklore*, the disciplinary term, as a tool. At one level they were expected to undertake American genre painting or scenes of everyday Southern life--to complete the cadences heard in Fisk Jubilee spirituals and traditional Bre'r Rabbit tales. Alternately, artists who affirmed racial pride in an African past or Negritude in spirit were also pulled to a folk esthetic in crafts and sculpture. During the very years when Covarrubias prepared *Negro Drawings*, a number of black artists, seeking non-academic styles, consciously turned either to African or American folk forms--at times to both.

I plan for the future an article in the *JEMFO* on Aaron Douglas, a major black artist especially interested in folk themes. In 1927 he illustrated James Weldon Johnson's *God's Trombones, Seven Negro Sermons in Verse*. Earlier he had executed a series of striking graphics based on familiar spirituals. I do not know whether Covarrubias and Douglas ever met in person to share experience, but they did meet within a landmark book of the Harlem Renaissance, *The New Negro* (1925), expanded from a special issue of *Survey Graphic*. In this major anthology, Alain Locke, a Howard University professor of philosophy, brought together a series of essays by black associates, many who sought with him to participate in the dominant American society while simultaneously preserving and enhancing their special heritage. Locke consciously placed this new racial awakening in Harlem within "those nascent movements of folk-expression and self-determination which are playing a creative part in the world to-day."

Locke desired an attractive book--one including new paintings of Negro leaders, reproductions of early graphic material (title pages from Schomberg Collection), African-inspired decorative drawings, photographs of African sculpture and artifacts. Either Locke or *Survey Graphic* editor Paul Kellogg selected Winold Reiss, a painter from Germany, as art editor for the magazine's special issue, and for *The New*

Negro. Reiss was already well-known in Europe for his delineations of folk types in the Black Forest, Tyrolian Alps, Sweden, and Holland. (In the United States his colorful portraits of Blackfoot Indians were widely distributed by the Great Northern Railway.) Assisting Reiss for Locke's book was the young Aaron Douglas. Either Reiss or Douglas selected from *Vanity Fair* three pieces by Covarrubias of black performers for *The New Negro*. Is it possible that this selection was made without any direct interaction between Reiss, Douglas, and Covarrubias? My speculation about such an encounter is grounded in the need to establish a critical setting in which to judge Covarrubias' perception of folk music.

Without precise knowledge of Covarrubias' relationship to black artists working during the Harlem Renaissance, I return to his association with Carl Van Vechten. I have stressed this critic's remarks on the blues in order to comment mainly on the music seen and heard in New York by the young Mexican artist during the 1920s, as well as music presented at Van Vechten's own gatherings. In retrospect, we know that Covarrubias heard jazz already some distance from its folk base, and that he was present on Lenox Avenue when urban life actually altered rural forms. Yet, in contrast to the dominant popular music of the decade, even the most elegant black music in Harlem speakeasies retained an aura of folk life.

From today's vantage point we can say that Covarrubias portrayed Negro musicians in formal attire and in exotic settings, rather than in rustic fields. To cite but one item reproduced here, certainly, his blues dancer is closer to Bill "Bojangles" Robinson on Broadway than to a river roustabout. In terms of the conceptual polarity already suggested in this feature, Covarrubias encountered sophisticated rather than folk performers in Harlem, and sketched them as he found them. Only when he illustrated *Mules and Men* or *Adventures of an African Slaver*, could he go back in time and place to early societies.

Until we find writings by Covarrubias which report his personal ideas about black music, if indeed such documents exist, it is best that we judge his jazz musicians as neither autochthonous nor avant-garde but rather as liminal figures crossing the boundaries between folk and popular culture as well as between black and white society. Clearly, this young newcomer to Harlem did not accept the belief that jazz was degenerate; clearly he wanted his art to draw attention to a bouyant music. Whether or not he was concerned with problems of origin and modes of presentation, I do not know.

A Covarrubias painting, the "Rhapsody in

Blue," was purchased by Mrs. Paul Whiteman when her husband had helped popularize George Gershwin's own work under this title (reproduced in *Negro Drawings*, Plate 53). It is instructive to ask whether the painting was viewed in 1927 as illustrative of Gershwin's elaborate concert piece, or alternately, as depicting a low-life song—a set of drinkers, a lonely singer, an impassive set of performers. Where did fans peg this painting on their own societal/cultural scales?

I suspect that viewers of Covarrubias' "Rhapsody in Blue" responded to it largely in terms of their perception of Negro life. We know that James Weldon Johnson and Langston Hughes, who liked folklore, also were partisan to art by Covarrubias. In strong contrast, W. E. B. Du Bois, in his stinging criticism of *Boirn To Be*, rejected him completely. When folk music becomes a subject of formal art, it seems to generate polar responses. The music, and by extension, the art, is either dynamic and vital or tasteless and harmful. One must ask whether the viewer sees a painting, hears music depicted, or perceives the society beyond.

In addition to favoring a particular vision of folk life, anyone now inclined can dismiss Covarrubias' *Negro Drawings* of 1927 by saying that the book is simply too far from country blues to be useful as a folkloric document. I do not share this view. Before large numbers of Americans, black or white, were ready for an appreciation of rural, traditional, or downhome blues, Afro-American secular music had to be discovered and disseminated. While jazz was still explosive in its newness, Jelly Roll Morton had to be distinguished from George Gershwin, and at a more complicated plane, blues singers such as Ethel Waters and Bessie Smith had to be compared to each other by performance and by repertoire. Finally, blues had to be enjoyed in its own right and not as a raw substance destined to be refined into dance music, musical comedy, jazz suites, or "serious" music.

This fascinating cultural process—one of description and appreciation of jazz and blues—is detailed in books and in liner/brochure notes to numerous reissued sound recordings. It can best be studied by selective listening to these LPs. It is my suggestion that Miguel Covarrubias, to name but one individual, was also a discoverer and disseminator integral to the full utilization of Afro-American folklore. Graphic artist and critic in caricature, he enhanced the music touched by his creativity. A Covarrubias blues singer, arms in the air, is more than a line drawing of a powerful woman. The drawing is also a visual passport into a realm of ethnic identity and American expression.

FOR BACKGROUND READING

In addition to books and articles named directly in the pages above, I can recommend for background:

Nathan Huggins, *Harlem Renaissance* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971).

Langston Hughes, *The Big Sea* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1940).

James Weldon Johnson, *Along This Way* (New York: Viking Press, 1933).

Bruce Kellner, *Carl Van Vechten and the Irreverent Decades* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1968).

Eugene Levy, *James Weldon Johnson: Black Leader, Black Voice* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1973).

Bernard Bell, "Folk Art and the Harlem Renaissance." *Pylon*, 36 (Summer 1975), 155-163.

Abraham Chapman, "The Harlem Renaissance in Literary History." *CLA Journal*, 11 (1967-68), 38-58.

-- University of Louisville,
Louisville, Ky.



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ABSTRACTS OF ACADEMIC DISSERTATIONS

THE WESTERN IMAGE IN COUNTRY MUSIC, by Stephen Ray Tucker. M. A. Thesis, Southern Methodist University, History Dept., August 1976. Directed by Prof. Ronald L. Davis. 189 pp.

This study traces the evolution of the Western image in country music. Chapter One is a discussion of the early appropriation of the image by the nascent country music industry of the 1920s. The image, originally an extension of the folk music of the West, was gradually adopted by commercial artists as a substitute for the term "hillbilly." Chapter Two focuses on the contribution of the three major artists of the 1930s: Jimmie Rodgers, Gene Autry, and Bob Wills. Rodgers helped establish, by virtue of his own "rounder" lifestyle, the popular identification of country music and the cowboy. Autry extended the popularity of the image as a phenomenally successful film personality. Wills developed Western swing, a highly eclectic musical style that mirrored modern attitudes and was associated with a specific geographic region, the Southwest. Wills fully integrated the Western image into his music. Chapter Three is an analysis of the eclipse of the Western image as it was drained of much of its meaning due to the excesses of the Baroque Period of the 1950s. Following the honky-tonk era, country music further abandoned the Western image. The rise of the Nashville Sound signaled the wholesale commitment of country music to the more "sophisticated," hence respectable, style of popular music. Chapter Four traces the emergence of two alternative styles of country music that developed in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Both country-rock and progressive country revived the Western image. The former used the image as a symbol of the modern problems of alienation and fragmentation. The latter appropriated the image in a similar fashion, but because progressive country was a product of the Southwest, it reflected a more natural relationship of the image to the music.

KAROL STOCH AND RECORDED POLISH FOLK MUSIC FROM THE PODHALE REGION

by Richard Spottswood

The pioneering articles by the Finnish scholar Pekka Gronow which have appeared in this journal have amply demonstrated the unique worth of commercially produced recordings in the various foreign language series of Victor, Columbia, Brunswick, Vocalion and other labels, beginning almost with the dawn of the record industry. Recordings in dozens of languages and language dialects were marketed, primarily for the consumption of immigrant groups in this country. Although a high percentage of these records lie outside the scope of interest as folk or country music, many others form a direct counterpart to the music which has lingered in this country as a survival of the Anglo-Irish traditions of past centuries. As such, the rural or village music of other countries legitimately merits attention.

American record scholars are in a uniquely privileged position to enjoy and study the rural music of other cultures on vintage recordings. Many immigrants from the small towns and countryside sought asylum in this country because of desperate economic conditions at home which precluded the enjoyment of luxuries like the phonograph. Thus the market which existed here for their "country" music had virtually no equivalent in the old world, and recordings of such music issued there were few and far between. In America portable acoustic phonographs could be bought for as little as \$10, and immigrants who treasured recordings of music from home formed a ready audience for record and phonograph manufacturers. Thus it happened that many vernacular music traditions ignored by foreign record companies abroad were well-represented in the United States.

One example I have begun to document is the music from the isolated Tatra Mountains in the Podhale region of southeastern Poland, an area bordered to the east, west, and south by Czechoslovakia. The mountaineers (or *górale*) who inhabit the countryside and villages of the area, like Nowy Targ, Biały Dunajec and the region's cultural center, Zakopane, are independent people who once made their living through shepherding and through border-connected activities, both legal and otherwise. They are Poles more by nationality than acculturation, with heavy mountain dialects that are all but unintelligible to natives from other

parts of the country. Podhale and the people of the Tatras were largely unknown except to the inhabitants until the middle of the last century, when the natural beauty of the mountains and valleys made Zakopane and the surrounding countryside a popular resort area, attractive particularly to intellectuals from Poland and other parts of Europe. Many of these visitors became absorbed with the *górale* themselves, taking notice of both their folk tales and music. One man became particularly celebrated, Jan (Sabała) Krzeptowski (1809-1894) who, like Homer, was a teller of legends, a musician, and ultimately something of a national legend himself. Though he was not the originator of Podhale's music, interest in it solidified around his singing and fiddling until he alone seemed to personify it.

The music of the Tatras is instantly recognizable, and distinguishable from the polkas, waltzes, obereks and mazurkas of the rest of Poland. The lean, angular melodies are almost always played in an unaccented duple meter. The rhythmic emphasis is irregular, with beats which never fall in quite the same place two measures in a row. The music is primarily for dancing in groups and the singing may be by from one to all of the dancers. Songs are usually played in lengthy medleys, and the tempo can vary greatly even within a single song. One (or occasionally two) lead fiddlers predominate and signal the start of a new melody. The lead is supported by two harmony fiddlers who supply simple chords, and who are supported in turn by a bowed bass or cello which emphasizes or alternates the beat. The roles of supporting musicians are limited, but the lead fiddler improvises ornate cadenzas and introduces new tunes at will. This description can hardly suffice to do more than give a superficial impression of this music, but it does serve to point out a few of the elements which make it unique.

Tatra music was recorded in Poland as early as 1904, when an ethnographer, Roman Zawiliński, made some field recordings on Edison cylinder equipment. The director of the Tatra Museum in Zakopane, Julius Zborowski, made a few more in 1912. None of these recordings is known to have survived the Nazi bombing raids of World War II.

Another scholar, Stanisław Mierczyński,



MAKE POLISH LANGUAGE RECORDS

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Details of the project have not been fully divulged, but announcement is made that contracts have been awarded for the erection of a one-story factory, 40x160 feet, at Grove and Harrison streets, on the south side. This will be equipped to record and press records. Later equipment will be installed for making instruments.

While at the start the new concern will specialize in the production of records in the Polish language, it intends to make records in all languages in due time. The active head of the enterprise is Chester P. Dziadulewicz, treasurer and business manager of the *Kurier Polski*, the leading Polish language daily newspaper in Milwaukee, with headquarters at 435 Broadway.

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Upper left: Sketch of Jan (Sabala) Krzeptowski, early Tatra fiddler (from *Gorole Gorole*, Goralsko Muzyka, published in Poland).

Right: Two full page ads from *The Talking Machine World*, 1920; lower left: *TMW* news item, 15 December 1920, p. 61. Does anyone know of records on the Polonia label still surviving?

author of the book *Muzyka Podhala* (Warsaw, 1930) supervised the recording of a number of tunes, played by trained musicians from his transcriptions. At least four of these recordings appeared as ten-inch 78s in the early 1930s on the Syrena-Electro label, and are listed in the discography following this article.

The earliest known commercial recordings of Tatra music were made several years earlier in Chicago, by two groups of immigrant musicians for three labels. The first were made by the famous actor, singer and geographer Stefan Jarosz who had settled briefly in this country. We do not know the details of how these first records were negotiated, nor even the exact date when they were made, though the month of April 1927 is fairly certain. Though Jarosz was a trained singer, he chose to record with traditional musicians, and a group led by the fiddler Karol (Cialy) Stoch came to the Columbia studios with Jarosz. The four sides which resulted were not uniformly successful. Jarosz's voice is too professional to be convincing, and Stoch and the other musicians seem nervous and tentative in comparison with subsequent recordings. According to the Chicago music publisher Alvin Sajewski, there were further complications when it was discovered that none of the musicians was a member of the AFM, which meant that Jarosz could not use them for his later recordings, which featured trained musicians under the direction of Frank Przybylski. Still, the first records were well received, and the idea that this distinctly regional music had potential for further record sales was evidently not lost on anyone.

Karol Stoch is the central figure in this discussion, and it is unfortunate that little about him beyond his recordings is known to me. I visited Chicago on two occasions, in 1975 and 1976, and made attempts to locate information about him with little success. A 1930 advertisement shows that he operated a wine and tobacco shop at 1617 West 43rd Street. He was active in community affairs, and is described in the same year as president of the First Circle of the fraternal and cultural organization Związku Podhalań w Póln. Ameryce, which had been founded earlier by Stefan Jarosz. He died in the early 1950s.

Though details of his life haven't yet been recovered, his reputation as a musician is secure among all who remember him or know his recordings, which bear out the universally held opinion that he was the greatest Tatra fiddler in either this country or Poland.

Discographically we are on firmer ground. The Karol Stoch records known to me represent, I believe, all that he made. He recorded for three labels from 1927 to around 1950. Most important were the Victors, made over an eighteen-month period in 1928 and 1929, when he was evidently at the peak of his powers. Presumably Stoch and his colleagues had joined the musicians union during the interval between the Columbia and Victor activities, because Victor saw to it that he was extensively recorded during their brief association.

Possibly because of this prolific activity, Victor released the Stoch records under the names of his singers as well as his own in an attempt to make their catalogues appear more diversified. When a recording was released under Stoch's name, the singer(s) would be identified in small print under the primary credit on the label. If a singer or singers were given primary credit, Stoch would be cited in the small print. The credits did not determine any difference in the presentations; in fact, several recordings with primary credit given to singers are predominately instrumental.

Stoch made no known recordings between 1929 and the end of World War II. Why his association with Victor ended abruptly is a matter for speculation. In 1929 the old Victor Talking Machine Company was purchased from its founder Eldridge Johnson by the Radio Corporation of America. Perhaps the new owners felt that Stoch's appeal was limited and that sales of his records didn't warrant further releases. Or perhaps Stoch may have had a disagreement and severed the relationship himself. The latter seems more likely, since many of his records remained in the Victor catalogue until well into the depression, and a few were even re-issued later in the 1930s and again after the war.

The last known Stoch recordings were made around 1950 on home equipment in the basement of one John Nieminski, who was owner of the briefly active Vita-Tone label. Four 10" 78s were made and released on the Podhalań Medleys label, three of them under Stoch's name. Though he shares the lead with an accordion, an instrument considered by some to be out of place in Podhale music, he extemporizes freely and alone on occasion, and his abilities show no signs of having diminished during his prolonged absence from recording. The dates of these recordings are uncertain, and they seem to have been distributed only informally.

For the sake of completeness, I am including in the discography that follows recordings made by another pioneer fiddler, Jan Krzysiak. His were the only other recordings of Tatra music in the 78 rpm era, and if he was not the equal of Karol Stoch, neither was anyone else.

Normally, critical and historical writing involving selected areas of early record research accompanies an lp reissue, or at least follows on the heels of one and presumes that the reader is familiar with the music under discussion. Since only one Stoch piece is currently available (on a recent Library of Congress release) I must assume that most readers are unfamiliar with him. Nevertheless his records are important, both as unique documents of a traditional body of music and in what they stand for in relationship to the large body of additional non-English language vernacular recordings which offer musical insight into present and earlier immigrant cultures, and are no less authentically representative than Karol Stoch.

Several more examples of Stoch's music are on an lp of Slavic-American music in preparation for New World Records which will be available

from them on a limited basis only. I hope that there will be still further opportunities for reissues. I have managed to acquire copies of most of them, but there are several I still have not heard. If anyone should know of the existence or availability of any, I would appreciate knowing about it, or about any pertinent information which has been left out of this account. My address is: 711 Boundary Avenue, Silver Spring, Maryland 20910. I must also mention that around ten lps of Tatra music have appeared since the early 1960s, and that recent years have witnessed recordings of the music from Poland itself. A listing of those currently available follows the discography.

My thanks to Alvin Sajewski, Frank Kwak, Myron Surmach, Joe and Wanda Krózel, Dr. Thaddeus V. Gromada, Pekka Gronow, Frank Driggs of RCA Records, Stanisław Janik, Stanisław (Sabała) Wresniak, Martine McCarthy of CBS Records, Eddie Blazonczyk, Chester Bachleda, Marianne Kozłowski and Mr. and Mrs. Michał Ciesła, all of whom have added materially to my knowledge.

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GENERAL



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1931

VICTOR POLSKIE REKORDY

(Victor Polish Records)



Kościuszko



Pilecki

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68844/Marsz Narodowy Polski
12"-\$1.25/Marsz Piłsudskiego

ORKIESTRA WITKOWSKIEGO
78887/Marsz Tadeusza Kościuszki
10"-75c/Mazur Po Komendzie Kościuszki



Gen. Piłsudski

PIEŚNI KOŚCIELNE

(Religious Songs)



WYKONAŁA GRUPA ŚPIEWAKÓW
V-66006/Procesja na Boże Ciało—Część 1, 2
12"-\$1.25

WYKONAŁ ZESPÓŁ PIELGRZYMÓW
59001/Pielgrzymka na Jasną Górę
12"-\$1.25/Powrót z Jasnej Góry

1

MUZYKA NA RÓŻNYCH INSTRUMENTACH—ciąg dalszy

G. GIALDINI—Gwizdanie

V-16089/Gwizdanie Rębacza—Opuszczany
10"-75c/Piękne Jezioro Morskie Oko

MAKIŃSKA TRÓJKA

V-16055/Nad Wisłą—Polka
10"-75c/Moja Luba—Schottische

PIOTR KOPACZ—Klarnet

V-16025/Polka do wykupu
10"-75c/Polka po wykupie

V-16150/Z Sali—Oberek
10"-75c/Oberek Kopacza

ED. L. CUPRYS-BRUNO KAMIŃSKI

Skrzypce i Harmonia

V-16010/Podkówka—Polka
10"-75c/Za Karczmą—Oberek

JAN KIMELSKI—Harmonia

81332/Chłopiec z Irlandii—Marsz
10"-75c/Polka z Krojeżyna

KATRYNKA

V-16155/Golebica
10"-75c/Słoneczko Moje

V-16157/Przez fale wód—Walc
10"-75c/Na falach Dunaju—Walc



Kopacz

GÓRALSKIE PIEŚNI

(Mountaineer Songs)

S. BACHLEDA I KAROLA STOCHA ORIGINALNA MUZYKA
GÓRALSKA

V-16175/Obudź mię Dziewczyno
10"-75c/Hej Wara wom od Dzieczyny

V-16149/Poszedł Jasiek Na Zbój
10"-75c/Pocoś Dziewcze Powiedziała

V-16139/Kądracka
10"-75c/Przewodnička

V-16127/Marsz Góralski z śpiewem
10"-75c/Na Łysej Polanie z śpiewem

V-16103/Dyś se Dolu Białka z Sichelki
10"-75c/Nie będę się Żynił z Sichelki

V-16080/Ostatki na Podhalu
10"-75c/Taniec w Karczmie

V-16064/Dobra Noc Weselno—
10"-75c/Część 1, 2

V-16016/Sabalowa
10"-75c/Piosenka Starego Bacy

81335/Zakopiańska Piosenka (Oryginalna Muzyka Górali Karola Stocha)
10"-75c/Zpod Giewanta



Bachleda i Stocha Orkiestra

9

DISCOGRAPHY

COLUMBIA Chicago, April 1927

STEFAN JAROSZ, Oryginalna Muzyka Góralska, Karola Stocha.

Stefan Jarosz, vocal; Karol Stoch, lead violin; unknown second violins and cello-bass.

w108126-2	Marsz Zbojnicki (Bandits' March)	Co 18211-F
w108127-2	Taniec Goralski (Mountaineers' Dance)	Co 18211-F
w108128-1	Taniec Zbojnicki (Bandits' Dance)	Co 18224-F
w108129-2	Goral Ja Se Goral (I'm a Mountaineer)	Co 18224-F

VICTOR Chicago, 11 June 1928

(1) KAROLA STOCHA ORYGINALNA MUZYKA GORALSKA

(2) S. BACHLEDA, Oryginalna Muzyka Goralska Karola Stocha

Karol Stoch, lead violin; Jozef Nowobielski, Franciszek Chowaniec, second violins; Stanislaw Tatar, cello-bass; Stanislaw Bachleda, vocal.

BVE 45337-2	Zpod Giewanta (Under the Hill of Giewant) (i. e. Giewont)	Vi 18-81335 (2), New World
BVE 45338-2	Zakopianska piosnka (Song from Zakopane)(i. e. Zakopane)	Vi 18-81335 (2) /NW 283
BVE 45339-2	'Spiew z Gubalowki (Song from Gubalow)	Vi V-16000 (1)
BVE 45340-2	Juchaska (Shepherds Song)	New World NW 283
BVE 45341-1	Sabalowa (Song of Sabal)	Vi V-16016 (2)
		V-16366 (2)
		Library of Congress
		LBC-4 (2)
BVE 45342-1	Piosenka Starego Bacy (Song of the Old Shepherd)	Vi V-16016 (2)
		V-16366 (2)
BVE 45343-1	Z Poronina (From Poronin)	Vi V-16009 (2)
BVE 45344-1	Koscieliska (Shepherd's Trail)	Vi V-16009 (2)

VICTOR Chicago, 9 July 1928

(3) KAROL STOCH I TRUPA

BVE 45340-2	'Spiew Juchasa (Song of the Shepherd)	Vi V-16000 (1)
CVE 46077-1	Ostatnia Noc Juhasow w Tatrach - Czesc 1 (The Shepherds' Last Night in the Tatra)	Vi 18-59061 (3)
CVE 46078-2	Ostatnia Noc Juhasow w Tatrach - Czesc 2 (Vi 18-59061 is twelve-inch)	Vi 18-59061 (3)
BVE 46079-1	Krolowa Tatr (Queen of Tatr) (i. e. Tatra)	Vi V-16050 (2)
BVE 46080-1	Piesn z Bojnikow (I. e. Zbojnickow) (Song of the Bandits)	Vi V-16050 (2), New World
BVE 46081-1	Przewodnicka (A Passer-By)	Vi V-16139 (2) /NW 283
		V-16375 (2)
BVE 46082-1	Kandracka	Vi V-16139 (2)
		V-16375 (2)

VICTOR Chicago, 15 July 1929

(4) KAROL STOCH A SPOLOCNOST'.

BVE 55402-1	Marsz Goralski	Vi V-16127 (2), V-16374 (2), V-22035 (4)
BVE 55403-2	Na Lysej Polanie (In a Fertile Valley)	Vi V-16127 (2), V-16374 (2), V-22035 (4)
BVE 55400-1	Ostatki na Podhalu (Last Evening in Podhale)	Vi V-16080 (1), V-16367 (2)
		25-9056 (??)
BVE 55401-2R	Taniec w Karczmie (Dance in the Inn)	Vi V-16080 (1), V-16367 (2)
		25-9056 (??)
BVE 55404-2	Dobra Noc Weselno (Celebration Night Before the Wedding)	
	Czesc 1	Vi V-16064 (2)
BVE 55405-2R	Dobra Noc Weselno - Czesc II	Vi V-16064 (2)

Vi V-22035 is in the Slovak series. BVE 55402 is titled Porobok s Muzikantmi (Shepherd Boy with Musicians). BVE 55403 is titled Porobok Spieva (Shepherd Boy Singing). The R following take numbers indicate that a dubbed master was used.

VICTOR Chicago, 24 November 1929

(5) SICHELSKI I BACHLEDA, Muzyka: Karola Stoch

Add Jan (?) Sicheliski, vo.

BVE 57465-2 Nie Bede Sie Zynil (I Will Not Get Married) Vi V-16103 (5), V-16373 (5) New World
 BVE 57466-1 Dyc se Dolu Bialka (Down the Bialka Valley) Vi V-16103 (5), V-16373 (5) NW 283
 BVE 57467 (?) Poszedl Jasiak Na Zboj Vi V-16149 (5), V-16369 (5), 25-9057 (5?)
 BVE 57468 (?) Pocos Dziewcze Powiedziala Vi V-16149 (5), V-16369 (5), 25-9057 (5?)
 BVE 57469-2 Hej Wara Wom od Dziewczyny (Get Away From the Girl) Vi V-16175 (5)
 BVE 57470-1 Obudz Mie Dziewczyno (Wake Me Up, My Girl) Vi V-16175 (5)

Note: BVE 57467 and BVE 57468 may be reversed.

The Victor files contain sales figures for some of those releases, prepared at an unknown date. These may or may not represent total sales for each item. These figures are not available for records which were reissued in the V-16300 series and later.

18-81335 - 3054
 V-16000 - 2561
 V-16050 - 2111
 V-16064 - 2748
 V-16175 874

PODHALAN MEDLEYS Chicago, ca. 1950

ORK, KAROL STOCH Karol Stoch, lead violin; Joe Pat (Paterek), accordion with Solo-Vox; Andrew Bernas, Jan Krzysiak, second violins; Frank Kwak, cello-bass, Antonina (Antoinette) Blazonczyk, Stanislaw Janik, Andrew Wrobel, vocals.

A-1017	Wspomnienia Sabaly	P.M. 1, New World
TTR-1		NW 283
A-1018	Kumotersko	P.M. 2
TTR-2		
A-1019	Idzie Goral na Chlebem	P.M. 3
TTR-3		
A-1020	Han w Gorach na Holi	P.M. 4
TTR-4		

Pat, Blazonczyk, Wrobel out. Add J. Rol. vocal.

A-8118	Testament Starego Goral (vo: SJ)	P.M. 5
A-8119	Piosenka Basow i Juhasow (vo: SJ, JR)	P.M. 6

Note: Podhalan Medleys 1/2, 3/4, 5/6 are couplings.

RECORDINGS BY JAN KRZYSIAK

BRUNSWICK-VOCALION Chicago, ca. 1929

GORALSKA ORKIESTRA J. KRZYSIAKA Jan Krzysiak, lead violin; Andrew Bernas, second violin; Stanley Morawa, three-row chromatic button accordion; Frank Kwak, cello-bass; Stanislaw Janik, vocal.

Czerwienianska	Vo 60124
Na Wierzchu Gieronta (On Top of the Geront Mountain)	
(i. e. Giewont)	Vo 60124
Maruszyńska	Vo 60128
Nie Smuccie, Sie, Tatry (Do Not Sadden, Tatra)	Vo 60128
Nie Bede Sie Zenil (I Won't Marry)	Vo 60136
Dziewczyno, Kocham Oie (Girlie, I Love You)	Vo 60136

PODHALAN MEDLEYS Chicago, ca 1950

ORK. JANA KRZYSIAKA Jan Krzysiak or Karol Stoch, lead violin; Stanislaw Janik, J. Rol, vocal; remaining personnel probably as with A-8118/A-8119 above.

A-8116	Starodowno Starego Pawloka	P.M. 3
A-8117	d Czarne Dunajea	P.M. 4

Pokhalan Medleys 3/4 are coupled. The release numbers are apparently inadvertently duplicated from the Stoch series above.

TATRY Chicago, early 1950s

(No group name given) Jan Krzysiak, lead violin; Jozef Karpiel, Jan Karpiel, second violins; unknown accordion; Jozef Rafacz, cello-bass; Antonina Blazonczyk, Stanislaw (Sabala) Wresniak, vocal; Zeb Zarnecki, director.

Wierchowo, Duchowych Dziewczecic Tatry TR-1
 Accordion out.
 Zakopianska Tatry TR-1
 Krzysiak changes to second violin, Jozef Karpel to lead.
 Mietusianska Tatry TR-2
 Hej Ide W Las Tatry TR-2

OTHER RECORDINGS OF STEFAN JAROSZ

COLUMBIA Chicago, ca. January 1928

Orchestra led by Frank Przybylski

	Piosenka od Rytra	Co 18238-F
	Piosenka Sandecka	Co 18238-F
wl08502-B	Hej! Janosik, Janosik!	Co 18240-F
wl08503-A	Pobili Sie Dwaj Gorale	Co 18240-F

COLUMBIA Chicago, 3 April 1928. Orchestra led by Frank Przybylski.

wl09002-1	Jednej Podhalance Nieszczescie Sie Stalo	Co 18267-F
wl09003-2	Z Wdowa Sie Ozenic	Co 18267-F
wl09004-1	Chociazem Nie Ladna	Co 18281-F
wl09005-1	A Ktora Mnie Bedzie Cheila	Co 18281-F
wl09006-1	Plynie Potok Dolina	Co 18274-F
wl09007-2	Kochalabym Pana Zeby Wasy Zgolil	Co 18274-F

CURRENTLY AVAILABLE LP'S OF PODHALE MUSIC

CLP-601	Poracki na Podhalu
CLP-602	Giewont
CLP-603	Podhalanska Msza Swieta A complete Mass with Podhale music
CLP-604	Powstanie Choclowskie/Polki i Walce Side One commemorates the 1846 uprising against overlords of the Austro-Hungarian empire.
CLP-605	Wyrchowom Nutom
CLP-605	Pozegnanie Tatr Both albums assigned release number CLP-605. The last features songs about immigration to America.

Note: These lp's have no label or company name. They are available at \$5.98 each from Michal Ciesla, 2413 S. 56th Court, Cicero, Ill. 60650

Bel-Aire LP-5001 Redyk Owiec na Hole

Available from Bel-Aire Record Co., 1740 W. 47th St., Chicago 60609.
 Bel-Aire also has an extensive catalogue of modern Polish-American music on lp's.

Muza SX-1125/26 Grajcie Dudy-Grajcie Basy: Polish Folk Music

This excellent 2-record import samples unreconstructed folk music traditions from several parts of Poland, including Podhale. There are extensive notes in both Polish and English.

Muza XV-728/29/30 Podhale 1/2/3

This set of three separately bound lp's is marred somewhat by the presence of government-sponsored ensembles which often try for speed and brilliance beyond reason. Nevertheless there are nice moments, and included are a few pieces by solo fiddlers and bagpipers. There are credits and good color jacket photos, but no notes. Also issued on the Veriton label; same release numbers.

Muza XL 0337 Podhale Spiewa: Tunes of Tatra Highlands

Instrumentation not so flashy as on the preceding. Liner notes in both Polish and English.



KAROL STOCH
Prezes Koła No. I, Z. P. P. A., Dyrektor Zarządu Głównego



STASŁAW BACHLEDA
Dyrektor Zarządu Głównego

WESELE GÓRALSKIE



Above: Karol Stoch and Stasław Bachleda, principals of the Bachleda i Stocha Orkiestra;
Below: Scene from a Mountaineers' Wedding. All photos of Polish musicians and facsimiles
from record catalog provided by the author.

ORKIESTRA "SYRENA-REKORD"

Warsaw, early 1930s

22085	Podhalanskie wesele (Motywy goralskie) Cz. 1	S-E 6796
22086	Podhalanskie wesele (Motywy goralskie) Cz. 11	S-E 6796
22087		S-E 6797 (?)
22088	Krzesane vocal: AZ, WL	S-E 6798
22089	Taniec zbojnicki vocal: AZ, WL, BP	S-E 6799
22090	Na drobna nute	S-E 6798
22091	Sabalowe nuty	S-E 6800
22092	Janosik (Melodie zbojnickie)	S-E 6799
22093		S-E 6797 (?)
22094	Spiskie nuty	S-E 6800

All releases on Syrena-Electro label. Credited singers include A. Zachemski, W. Lukaszczyk and B. Par. All music from the collection of and arranged by Stanislaw Mierczynski.

Note: Titles throughout spelled as they appear on record labels or in company files. The Polish given is often incorrect.

-- Library of Congress
Washington, D.C.



Bachleda i Stocha Orkiestra (Bachleda and Stoch Orchestra; see p. 9 of Victor Polish Catalog)

CYLINDER AND MANUSCRIPT:
NORTH CAROLINA FOLKSONGS IN THE ROBERT W. GORDON COLLECTION

By Susan J. Grodsky

The author is a candidate for the degree of Master of Library Science at the University of Maryland, College Park. Last year she worked as a volunteer intern at the Library of Congress Archive of Folksong, cataloguing the Gordon cylinders and manuscripts described in this article.

Robert Winslow Gordon, student of George Lyman Kittredge, teacher, writer, collector, and first director of the Library of Congress's Archive of Folk Song, visited North Carolina for two months, mid-October to mid-December 1925. While there he collected 377 songs, 298 of which he recorded on 202 wax cylinders which may have been donated by Thomas Edison himself. These cylinders, which Gordon gave to the Archive, are now being prepared for transfer to tape, and should be available to researchers by 1978.

Gordon began his work in North Carolina, part of a cross-country collecting venture, with a Sheldon fellowship from Harvard (most of which he spent on equipment), contracts with the *New York Times* and *Everybody's Magazine* for articles, and financial worries. He and his wife had just recovered from what Gordon delicately called an "amoebic infection," and his seventy-six-year-old mother, seriously ill, had been placed in a sanatorium. Besides these heavy medical bills, he had borrowed against his life insurance to repay an old debt.

Whatever Gordon's worries, he set out from Cambridge in September of 1925, and made his first recording in Greensboro, North Carolina, on 15 October. In Asheville he recorded songs by Bascom Lamar Lunsford, and eventually acquired parts of Lunsford's collection of manuscript songs. He then journeyed to Cullowhee, Sylva, Arden, Biltmore, and other small towns. He also crossed the border to South Carolina, recording in Rock Hill (where he obtained forty songs from Willard Randall in one day, 5 December 1925) and two days later in Landrum, S.C. He returned several times to Asheville, using it as a base of operations.

The North Carolina cylinders, only a part of the extensive collections Gordon brought to the Archive of Folk Song when he became its first head in 1928, have long been inaccessible to scholars. Gordon himself first suggested, in 1932, that they be copied onto aluminum disks. Twenty years later, Duncan Emrich requested his permission to have them copied onto tape, a project which, for lack of funds, never got off the ground. In 1964 the idea was again revived, and Robert Carneal, Chief Engineer of the Library of Congress's recording lab, reported on the procedure and its possible cost. Recently, interns at the Archive have prepared a list of the songs contained on the cylinders, which will simplify the task of recording engineers working with the long-neglected recordings.

The Gordon Collection is especially valuable because of the painstakingly detailed, incredibly accurate index Gordon prepared. Aided by his wife and daughter, Gordon indexed not just titles and first lines, but a number of key lines as well. The index also supplies most cross references, and a standard title if none was given, or if the informant gave a variant title. Thus every version of "Bonny Barbara Allan" Gordon collected may be found under that title, though informants, of course, referred to the song by a variety of titles.

A list of the songs in Gordon's North Carolina manuscripts follows.

RECORDINGS

1. Charles Weston Noel, singer, Greensboro, N.C., 15 October 1925.

<u>Record No.</u>	<u>Item No.</u>	<u>Song Title</u>
A1-3	NC1-2	Old Ninety Seven
A4	NC3	The Parted Lover

2. Fred J. Lewey, singer, Concord, N.C., 15 October 1925.

A5	NC4	Old Ninety Seven
A6	NC4	Old Ninety Seven (slight verbal changes)
A7-8	NC5-6	John Henry
A9-10	NC7-8	May I Sleep in Your Barn? A9 in poor condition
A10	NC9	Cora Lee
A10	NC10	Moonshiners
A11	NC11	Hobo Song
A12	NC12	The Little Red Caboose Behind the Train cylinder in poor condition

<u>Record No.</u>	<u>Item No.</u>	<u>Song Title</u>
3. Bascom Lamar Lunsford, singer, Asheville, N.C., 19 October 1925.		
A13	NC13	Not A-Goin' ter Lay my 'Legion Down
A14	NC14	Swanannoa Tunnel
A15	NC15	Go and Leave Me if You Wish To "As learned from Miss Leila Ammons at Robbinsville, N. C., about 1904," Gordon notes, evidently quoting Lunsford.
A16	NC16	Jinny Jinkins
A16	NC17	You Can't Fool Me, Charlie
A16	NC18	I'se A-Goin' ter Live Anyhow Until I Die
A17	NC19	The Old Gray Mare
A18	NC20	Bury Me Beneath the Willow
A19	NC21	The Roving Gambler
A19	NC22	Little Betty Ann
A20	NC21	The Roving Gambler "A poorer singing of this song than on A19 with one variant stanza." Gordon notes. Words to variant are found on NC21.
A20	NC23	Lullaby
A20	NC24	Go Wash in That Beautiful Pool
A21	NC25	Georgie Buck
A22	NC26	Poor Little Turtle Dove
A22	NC27	Untitled (Where'd you get them high topped shoes?)
A22	NC28	Sourwood Mountain
A23	NC29	Dry Bones in the Valley
A24	NC30	Old Smoky
A24	NC31	Cumberland Gap
A25	NC32	Untitled (Jump Up Jill)
A25	NC33	Untitled (Big Piece o' Pie)
A25	NC34	Untitled (Columbia, Columbia)
A25	NC35	Rosin the Beau [sic]
A25	NC36	Untitled (The little bee make the honeycomb)
A26	NC37	Untitled (Ain't got no use for my red apple juice)
A26	NC38	Brady
A27	NC39	This mornin'
A27	NC40	Sugar Babe
A28		NO DOCUMENTATION
A29	NC41	Roanoke River
A29	NC42	Untitled (Goodbye, darling, I must leave)
A30	NC43	Go Wash in That Beautiful Pool
A30	NC44	Way Over in the Promised Land
A31	NC45	Goin' to Italy
A32	NC46	Recessional
Bascom Lamar Lunsford, singer, Asheville, N.C., 20 October 1925.		
A33	NC47	Mole in the Ground
A34	NC48	Lulu
A34	NC49	Blue-eyed Girl
A35	NC50	Bill Ormond
A36	NC51	Evolution
A37	NC52	Drinkin' of the Wine
A38	NC53	Do You Hear Them Horses' Feet?
A38	NC54	The Heaven Bells
A39	NC55	The Ship That Never Returned
A39	NC56	Black Eyed Susie
A39	NC57	Untitled (When I die don't bury me deep)
A39	NC58	Untitled (My name's written on a cornerstone)
A40	NC59	Free a Little Bird
A41	NC60	Hesitation Blues
A41	NC61	Charming Betsy
A41	NC62	The Dewdrops are Falling on Me
A42	NC63	Such a Gittin Upstairs
A43	NC64	Cindy
A44	NC65	Ida Red
A44	NC66	Untitled (My wife's dead and I'm a widder)
A44	NC67	Untitled (I went to Californy)

<u>Record No.</u>	<u>Item No.</u>	<u>Song Title</u>
A44	NC68	Untitled (With my gun I'll guard you)
A45	NC69	Kidder Cole
A45	NC70	Sugar in the Gourd
A45	NC71	Untitled (Terrapin said to the toad)
A45	NC72	Uncle Ned
A46	NC73	Reuben, or, Railroad Blues
A46	NC74	Some Call Me Harry
4. John W. Dillon, fiddle, Asheville, N.C., 22 October 1925.		
A47	NC75	Cumberland Gap (fiddle tune) <i>cylinder missing</i>
A47	NC76	Nancy Rollins (fiddle tune) <i>cylinder missing</i>
A48	NC77	Isaac Meddler (fiddle tune)
A48	NC78	Mississippi Sawyer (fiddle tune)
A49	NC79	Sallie Good'in (fiddle tune)
A49	NC80	Goin' Down the Road (fiddle tune)
A50	NC81	Jessie James (fiddle tune)
A50	NC82	Goin Down to Town (fiddle tune)
A51	NC83	Soldier's Joy (fiddle tune)
A51	NC84	Sourwood Mountain (fiddle tune)
A52	NC85	When You and I Were Young, Maggie (fiddle tune)
A52	NC86	Other Side o' Jerdan (fiddle tune)
5. Jim Stikeleather, singer, Asheville, N.C., 23 October 1925.		
A53	NC87	The Colored Baptizin'
A53	NC88	Untitled (Bred'ren an' sist'ren how do you do'ey, do'ey)
A54	NC89	Sinner Man
A55		NO DOCUMENTATION
A56		NO DOCUMENTATION
6. George Williams, singer, Asheville, N.C., 24 October 1925.		
A57	NC90	Drinkin' Wine
7. Bascom Lamar Lunsford, singer, Asheville, N.C., 24 October 1925.		
A58	NC91	To the Pines
A58	NC92	Little Bonnie Blue Eyes
8. G. S. Robinson, singer, Asheville, N.C., 24 October 1925.		
A59	NC93	Bye and Bye
A60	NC94	John Henry
A61	NC95	Boogerman (fiddle tune)
9. Bascom Lamar Lunsford, singer, Asheville, N.C., 24 October 1925.		
A62	NC96	Untitled (Some bright day we'll go and see him)
A63	NC97	Lula Wall
A64	NC97	NO DOCUMENTATION
10. Bertha M. Parkins, singer, Cullowhee, N.C., 22 October 1925. <i>Date may be in error</i>		
A65	NC98	Old Drummer <i>cylinder in poor condition</i>
11. Mary E. Bridges, singer, Cullowhee, N.C., 27 October 1925.		
A66	NC99	Untitled (The night is dark and stormy) <i>cylinder in poor condition</i>
A67	NC101	The Orphan Girl
A68	NC102	Poor Kitty
12. Leola White, singer, Cullowhee, N.C., 27 October 1925.		
A66-67	NC100	Untitled (O where is my sweetheart, can anyone tell?)
A68	NC103	Sarah Jane
13. H. T. Turner, singer, Cullowhee, N.C., 27 October 1925.		
A69-70	NC105	The Fox
14. W. E. Bird, singer, Cullowhee, N.C., 27 October 1925.		
A69	NC104	Edward
A71	NC106	Untitled (O baby, where you been so long?)
A71	NC107	Charming Betsy

26. Bascom Lamar Lunsford, singer, Asheville, N. C., 16 November 1925.

<u>Record No.</u>	<u>Item No.</u>	<u>Song Title</u>
A104	NC154	Old Granny Hare

27. John Ammons, singer, Asheville, N. C., 16 November 1925.

A105	NC155	Pretty Mohea
A105	NC156	I'm Going Down the Road Feelin' Bad
A106	NC157	The New River Train (<i>cylinder in poor condition</i>)

28. William Stevens, singer, Biltmore, N. C., 16 November 1925.

A107	NC158	Untitled (Took me in the stable and he read me out a rule)
A107	NC159	Convict Song
A107	NC160	Miss Liza Jane

29. Ruth Shannon, singer, Tryon, N. C., 17 November 1925.

A108	NC161	The Roving Gambler
A109	NC162	Untitled (Niggers when yer gits to de)
A110	NC163	The Two Sisters
A110	NC164	Untitled (Take off, take off, that handsome robe)
A110	NC165	Untitled (Oooh, it's almost mornin')

30. Anderson Williams, singer, Arden, N. C., 18 November 1925.

A111	NC166	Untitled (Read in a Genesis an' understood) (<i>cylinders A108-A111 in poor condition</i>)
A111-112	NC167-168	Bonnie Blue Eyes
A113-114	NC169-170	Mr. Garfield
A114	NC171	Jesse James

31. John G. Woody, singer, Asheville, N. C., 19 November 1925.

A115	NC172	Goin' Down the Road Feelin Bad
A116	NC173	Hesitation Blues

32. James P. Patton, singer, Biltmore, N. C., 20 November 1925.

A117-118	NC174-175	Pretty Polly
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33. Ernest Helton, singer, Biltmore, N. C., 20 November 1925.

A119-120	NC176	Prisoner's Song
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{ Note: This may have been the
same Ernest Helton that re-
corded for Paramount in ca.
Dec. 1924 and for Okeh in Aug.
1925.

34. Edward Moses, singer, Morganton, N. C., 4 December 1925.

A121	NC177	Untitled (A pretty fair maid was a walk'n in the garden)
A122	NC178	George Collins
A122	NC179	The Old Fool (<i>cylinder in poor condition</i>)
A123		NO DOCUMENTATION

35. Bertie Moses, singer, Morganton, N. C., 4 December 1925.

A122	NC180	The Old Fool
A124	NC182	To the Pines
A126	NC184	The Drunkard's Dream

36. Bessie Moses, singer, Morganton, N. C., 4 December 1925.

A124-125	NC181	Gyps of a Davy
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37. Mrs. H. A. Barrier, singer, Balsam, N. C. (first two songs listed), Morganton, N. C. (all others), 4 December 1925 (both places).

A125	NC183	Katy Kline
A127	NC185	Must I Go Bound?
A128	NC186	Frankie-Baker
A128	NC187	Wish That Gal Was Mine
A128-129	NC188	Goin' Down the Road a Feelin' Bad
A129	NC189	Cindy

38. Mrs. T. L. Sigmond, singer, Morganton, N. C., 4 December 1925.

A130	NC190	On to Richmond (<i>cylinder in poor condition</i>)
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39. Isaac Avery, singer, Morganton, N. C., 5 December 1925.

A130	NC191	Brother Ephraim's Got de Coon
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40. Willard Randall, singer, Rock Hill, S. C., 5 December 1925.

<u>Record No.</u>	<u>Item No.</u>	<u>Song Title</u>
A131	NC192	The Young Man Who Wouldn't Hoe Corn
A131	NC193	Time Enough Yet
A132	NC195	Jack O Diamonds
A133	NC194	Czolgaz (<i>cyinders A132-A133 in poor condition</i>)
A133	NC196	Jesse James
A134	NC197	Untitled (Marster had a little pig)
A134	NC198	Untitled (All the way from Natchez town)
A135	NC199	Frankie and Albert (<i>cylinder in poor condition</i>)
A136	NC200	Cindy
A136	NC201	Drinking of the Wine, Wine, Wine
A137	NC202	Untitled (Reuben had a big bulldog)
A138	NC203	Goin' Down the Road a Feelin' Bad
A139	NC204	Charles Guiteau
A139	NC205	Long Tailed Blue
A140	NC206	Untitled (A fair young lady in a garden)
A141	NC207	Sugar Babe
A141	NC208	Untitled (O where did you get those high topped shoes?)
A142	NC209	Georgie Buck
A142	NC210	Swanannoa Tunnel
A143	NC211	Swing a Low
A144	NC212	The Miller's Will
A144-145	NC213	The Little Rosewood Casket
A146	NC214	Untitled (I wish I was a little bitty bird)
A146	NC215	Untitled (O little Liza)
A146	NC216	Careless Love
A147	NC217	Down the Road
A147	NC218	When She Comes
A148	NC219	Goin' to Italy
A148	NC220	Untitled (Git up on the mountain top)
A149	NC221	Little David (<i>cyinders A148-A149 in poor condition</i>)
A149	NC222	Swing a Low
A149	NC223	Alabama Horses
A150	NC224	A Woman's Tongue
A151	NC225	Leanin' on 'the Lord
A151	NC226	Run Nigger Run
A151	NC227	Untitled (I was there when No-ey built the ark)
A151	NC228	Untitled (Say, can you hear that whistle blow?)
A152	NC229	Black Eyed Susie
A152	NC230	I'll Never Get Drunk Any More
A152	NC231	Way Down Where the Sugar Cane Grows

41. John D. Weaver, singer, Landrum, S. C., 7 December 1925.

A153	NC232	Bonnie Blue Eyes
A153-154	NC233	Go and Leave Me
A154	NC234	Untitled (I'm goin' down to Richmond)
A155-156	NC235	Jesse James
A157	NC236	Old Joe Clark
A158	NC237	The Twin Sister (fiddle tune, one sung verse)
A158	NC238	Untitled (fiddle tune)
A159	NC239	Big Footed Nigger (fiddle tune, one sung verse)
A159	NC240	O Law, Mammy
A160	NC241	Untitled (Higher up the cherry tree)
A160	NC242	Untitled (I have a ship on the ocean)
A160-161	NC243	Short'nin Bread
A161	NC244	Run Nigger Run
A161	NC245	Booth

Note: This may have been the
J.D. Weaver who recorded for
Okeh in Aug. 1925.

42. Miss Bessie Littrell, singer, Asheville, N. C., 10 December 1925.

A162-163	NC246-247	Barbara Allen
A166-168	NC250	Omie Wise

43. Mrs. Littrell, singer, Asheville, N. C., 10 December 1925.

A164	NC248	Little David
A164-165	NC249	Lord Thomas and Fair Ellender

44. Nicholas Pressley, singer, Fletcher, N. C., 12 December 1925.

<u>Record No.</u>	<u>Item No.</u>	<u>Song Title</u>
A171	NC254	Old Joe Clark

45. G. W. Pressley, singer, Arden, N. C., 12 December 1925.

A171	NC255	Betsy Jane
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46. Mr. E. M. Pressley, singer, Arden, N. C., 12 December 1925.

A172	NC256	Goin' on Down to Town
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47. Agnes Pressley, singer, Arden, N. C., 12 December 1925.

A169	NC251	My Dearest Billy
A169-170	NC252	Jack O' Diamonds
A170	NC253	Love It Will Kill a Man Dead

Agnes Pressley, singer, Arden, N. C., 14 December 1925.

A173-174	NC257	Frog Went a Courtin'
A175	NC258	Drowsy Sleeper
A175-176	NC259	I Wish That Tomorrow was Sunday
A176	NC260	Charlie
A176-177	NC261	Pretty Polly
A177	NC262	Untitled (Give me a chair to set upon)
A177	NC263	Old Aunt Kate
A177	NC264	Liza Jane
A178	NC265	Black Eyed Susie
A178	NC266	Short'nin' Bread

48. Mrs. Harry Roberts, singer, Fletcher, N. C., 14 December 1925.

A179	NC267	King Jesus Locked the Lion's Jaws
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49. Mrs. Chauncey Cushing, singer, Fletcher, N. C., 14 December 1925.

A179	NC268	I Wonder Where my Sister's Gone
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50. Rev. A. G. Holly, singer, Brickton, N. C., 14 December 1925.

A180	NC269	Lord Have Mercy on Me
A181	NC270	You Better Run
A183	NC272	Let's Go to Bury

51. Henry Smith, singer, Brickton, N. C., 14 December 1925.

A182	NC271	John Henry
A184	NC273	The Waggoner (fiddle tune)

52. Mr. A. C. Elkins, fiddle, Asheville, N. C., 15 December 1925.

A185	NC274	Cacklin' Hen (fiddle tune)
A187	NC276	Asheville (fiddle tune)

53. Mr. D. H. Clark, singer, Asheville, N. C., 14 December 1925.

A186	NC275	The Lover's Prayer
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54. Mrs. Olla Brown, singer, Asheville, N. C., 15 December 1925.

A188	NC277	Careless Love
A189	NC278	Don't You Hear Jerusalem in the Morn?

55. Miss Bessie Littrell, singer, Asheville, N. C., 18 December 1925.

A190-191	NC279	The Silver Dagger
A191-192	NC280	Old Smoky
A193-194	NC283	The Boston Burglar
A195-196	NC284	Untitled (Oh the war is a raging)
A196	NC285-286	Black Jack Davie
A197	NC287	Untitled (I am nothing but a young boy)
A197	NC288	You Ask What Makes the Darkey Weep?
A197	NC289	They Were Standing by the Window

56. Mrs. Littrell, singer, Asheville, N. C., 18 December 1925.

A192	NC281	Alice Moore
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57. Mr. H. A. Powers, singer, Biltmore, N. C., 18 December 1925.

<u>Record No.</u>	<u>Item No.</u>	<u>Song Title</u>
A198	NC290	The Texas Ranger

58. Chief , [sic] singer, Biltmore, N. C., 18 December 1925.

A198	NC291	Cripple Creek
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59. Bascom Lamar Lunsford, fiddle, Asheville, N. C., 20 December 1925.

A199	NC292	Billy in the Low Ground (fiddle tune)
A199	NC293	Cumberland Gap (fiddle tune)
A200	NC294	Cindy (fiddle tune)
A200	NC295	Methodist Preacher (fiddle tune)
A201	NC296	Laurel Lonesome (fiddle tune)
A202	NC297	Sourwood Mountain (fiddle tune)
A202	NC298	Booth (fiddle tune)

MANUSCRIPT COLLECTIONS

R. W. Gordon, besides recording many of the people he met, obtained manuscript collections of songs from some. No recordings are associated with the songs listed below, thus no record number is given. The manuscript page (identified by item number) gives the words to a particular song as the collection owner knew them.

1. Collection of Bascom Lamar Lunsford. Lunsford evidently collected songs himself, and listed the informant. The first eight songs listed here (through "The Romish Lady") were obtained in Newton, North Carolina, the rest in Cullowhee.

<u>Item No.</u>	<u>Song Title</u>	<u>Singer</u>
NC299	Hold Up Your Head, Lord Joshua	Pauline Herman, Grade 5a
NC300	The Dying Cowboy	Pauline Kanipe
NC301	Pretty Polly	Louise Hendricks
NC302	Lord Thomas	Gladys McGinnis
NC303	In Johnson City	Sarah Setzer
NC304	Let Me Sleep in Your Barn To-night, Mister	Lola Hoke
NC305	There Was an Old Woman Who Had a Little Pig	Edith Heavner
NC306	The Romish Lady	Ilda Lee Rowe
NC307	Untitled (The little sisters side by side)	Billy Bolinger
NC308	Cindy	Mary Cox
NC309	Kitty Kline	Beulah Padgett
NC310	The Old Man and his Will	Louise Haigler
NC311	Laurel Valley	Edna Boyd
NC312	Goin Down Town	Bonnie Teague
NC313	The Miller's Will	Andy Bryson
NC314	Flo Ella	Mary Powell
NC315	Blooming Caroline	Nora Wiggins
NC316	Untitled (I love coffee and I love tea)	Vivian Jones
NC317	Untitled (Oh where is my sweetheart, can anyone tell?)	Leola White
NC318	The Little Rosebud Casket	Dorothy Williams
NC319	Little Willie	Onnie Prescott
NC320	There Was an Old Woman and She Had a Little Pig	Mary Ransdell
NC321	Little Liza Jane	Lillian Burgin
NC322	Lula	Ada Moss
NC323	On Top of Old Smoky	Lazelle Henson
NC324-325	Jackie Fraser	Willa Boyd
NC326	Brass Town Valley	Selma Kelly
NC327	Untitled (Last Saturday night three weeks ago)	Louaille McLamb
NC328	Long Tailed Blue	Hattie Wortman
NC329	Untitled (Oh, Crompton's dead and in his grave)	Ruth Stone
NC330	Jordan is a Hard Road to Travel	No singer

2. Collection of Miss Beulah Moses, Morganton, N. C. This collection lists neither singer nor place.

<u>Item No.</u>	<u>Song Title</u>
NC331	New Railroad Line
NC332	The F. F. V.
NC333	Sinful to Flirt

<u>Item No.</u>	<u>Song Title</u>
NC334	The Butchered Boy
NC335	I Once Had a Sweetheart
NC336	Careless Love
NC337	In a Low Green Valley
NC338	Goodby, Sweetheart, Goodby
NC339	Frankie Gray
NC340	Untitled (People erected a marble slab)
NC341	I Wish I Was a Single Girl Again
NC342	Untitled (O captain, captain, tell me true)

3. Collection of Miss Lula Browning, Nebo, N. C. This collection lists neither singer nor place.

NC343	Jesse James
NC344	A Song of Sweet William
NC345	Ellen Smith
NC346	On Top of Old Smoky
NC347	Untitled (I went up on old chestnut)
NC348	John Henry
NC349	The Train 97
NC350	The Lexington Murder
NC351-352	Franky Baker
NC353-354	Franky Baker, second version
NC355	Beneath the Willow
NC356	The Dying Boy
NC357	A Song
NC358	Good-Bye, Sweetheart
NC359	May I Sleep in Your Barn To-night, Mister?
NC360	The Ship That Never Returned
NC361	Song Ballett - Papa, Why Don't You Stop Drinking?
NC362-368	<i>These manuscript pages are much deteriorated, and are not usable.</i>
NC369	Just Behind the Battle, Mother
N370	A Wonderful Thing
NC371-372	The Dying Soldier Boy
NC373-374	The Lexington Murder
NC375	Wayfaring Stranger

4. Collection of Miss Bessie Littrell, Asheville, N. C. This collection lists neither singer nor place.

NC376-377	Black Jack Davie
NC378	The Bloody Dagger
NC379	Pharoah's Army Got Drowned
NC380	Oma Wise
NC381-382	Barbara Allen
NC383	Alice Moore
NC384	Old Smokey
NC385	The Boston Burglar
NC386	Poor Johnnie
NC387	Soldier Boy
NC388	They Were Standing By the Window
NC389	Kittie Wells

-- Washington, D.C.



Robert W. Gordon at White Top
Mountain Festival (from Tempo,
Oct. 1934)

"Sailor Dad" Hunt, winner in the
ballad-singing contest, who recently sang
at the White House; also Mrs. John A.
Jardine of Fargo, N. Dak., with Dr.
R. W. Gordon, folk authority of Wash-
ington, D.C., and Mrs. Gordon

BOOK REVIEWS

INTRODUCTION TO TWENTIETH CENTURY MEXICAN MUSIC, by Dan Malmström. (Distributed through The Institute of Musicology, Uppsala University, Uppsala, Sweden, 1974); 167 pp., "music in print and manuscript form," discography, recorded music, bibliography, \$4.50.

POPULAR MUSIC IN MEXICO, by Claes af Geijerstam (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1976); bibliography, "comments on recordings," but no discography, \$10.00.

The reading of *Introduction to Twentieth Century Mexican Music* and *Popular Music in Mexico* was probably the most frustrating reading assignment I've taken on in recent months. Both books do have their merits, but they are so filled with errors, largely typographical in the former, factual in the latter, that the reader can't help but wonder "just how they got away with it" considering that both were originally submitted (and one presumes) accepted as doctoral dissertations at the Institute of Musicology, Uppsala University, Uppsala, Sweden.

In his *Introduction to Twentieth Century Mexican Music*, Dan Malmström points out that "... books on 'Western' music history have usually omitted Mexico, as well as the rest of Latin America." Carlos Chavez in Mexico and the late Heitor Villa-Lobos of Brazil usually rate a few lines in more recent music histories, but overall coverage is generally limited to a few pages, at best. Sheet music and recordings are even more difficult to obtain. Those of us who have had some exposure to contemporary music realize the problem is not the quality of Mexican composition but rather communication. The word simply isn't getting out.

Malmström chose to limit himself to the twentieth century in that the earlier periods have been covered by the Mexican, Otto Mayer-Serra and the American, Robert Stevenson, among others. Malmström's point of departure is valid and a survey of musical developments since 1910 is appropriate and needed.

Malmström correctly points out that "the year 1910 seemed an obvious borderline because it was the year of the outbreak of the revolution. The more I have studied Mexican music history, the more it has become evident that Mexico's musical life before the 1910-revolution was mainly a sideline of European musical life, while after the revolution, there were developments which have made Mexico--with regard to its music life--autonomous and distinguished to a remarkable degree."

The author also notes that "I have not tried to invent any new research methods, nor have I tried to go very deeply into the details," which clearly, he has not. His book is a brief 145 page survey of twentieth century Mexican composers and their music, certainly not a musicological dissertation as we in the United States generally consider these efforts, i.e., an original work of considerable depth.

Malmström does not explain how he became interested in the music of Mexico although Claes af Geijerstam, in his *Popular Music in Mexico* begins his preface by noting: "I first became acquainted with Mexican culture, its music in particular, in the spring of 1968, when I went on a recording trip to Mexico with three colleagues of mine from Uppsala University. The main purpose of the trip was to make recordings among the Lacandon Indians who live in Chiapas near the Guatemalan border. Our stay with the Lacandon people resulted in a number of tape recordings, and in the course of time, a short thesis on the songs of these Indians by Dan Malmström, who initiated the trip...In the summer of 1971 Dan Malmström and I undertook a journey to Mexico in order to collect material for our theses on twentieth-century Mexican music." Malmström, himself, adds "I have ventured to interview as many composers and other important figures in the field of music as possible during my trip to Mexico in the summer of 1971...Both during this and during an earlier visit to Mexico in 1968, I have been able to make valuable contacts, who have since helped me to supplement my files."

Of the two books, Malmström's is clearly the more accurate, however superficial. Both books were almost entirely researched in Mexico City (or the authors give that impression) and there is little understanding of rural background, the rich wealth of regional folk styles that gives a particular imprint to the "classical" music that espouses a sense of nationalism and the popular music which, perhaps more than any influential country that I can think of (with the possible exception

of the highlife in West Africa) is so clearly rooted in that diverse amalgam of the European and Indian with African overtones. Both books were undoubtedly individual efforts but since the two authors are colleagues and friends some collaboration must have occurred, hence this joint review.

Malmström begins with a historical background, a very "Short Synopsis of Some Important Events in Mexican General and Music History Up to the Beginning of the Porfirian Epoch," eighteen "events" covering 350 years of Mexican history; three pages on the Porfirian Epoch (1876-1910) and brief mention of a few pre-1910 composers before plunging into his first chapter, the period ca. 1910-1928. The material covers the conservatory, opera, the musical salon, orchestras, concerts, and chamber music, the influence of Mexican painters, authors and the revolution, and beginning discussions on the composers Carrillo, Ponce, Chavez, Rolon, Huizar and Revueltas. In the second chapter, the period from 1928-1950, the author continues his discussions on the above composers and brings in Moncada, Sandi, Moncayo, Ayala, Contreras, Galindo, Jimenez, Mabarak and Halffter.

Chapter III is concerned with the period since 1950. Here Malmström touches on compositional techniques, neo-classicism; tonal vagueness and polytonality; atonality, dodecaphony and serialism; electronic music; economic and social problems; teaching, education and music; recordings, radio and TV; concerts and similar activities; publishing; and brief biographies of nine composers born since 1925. Treatment is brief--sometimes frustratingly so--but informative and accurate. The biographical treatment of the composers and their compositions is straightforward, giving the book some value as a reference work.

The typographical errors are inexcusable. I accept and appreciate that the author, a Swede, did his research in Spanish and his writing in English, a commendable feat to say the least and certain errors in spelling and syntax are clearly understandable. But to twist dates (in one case 1956 is given for 1556) can hardly be attributed to a language problem. The author credits one Peter Lyne who "has assisted in correcting the English." Mr. Lyne was not the best choice. Three pages of errata, covering 105 items are included but dozens more were overlooked.

Malmström's opinions, where given, are interesting and frequently valid although a certain naivete is occasionally apparent. This is perhaps to be expected when field work in a different hemisphere, a different language, and a different environment is confined to one summer. Under the circumstances, I am amazed he accomplished as much as he did.

Although the book does have value as a synopsis, I cannot accept Robert Stevenson's view that

As soon as this Uppsala doctoral dissertation becomes known, it is bound to be adopted as a text by Chicano music teachers. The very fact that this sober and straightforward narrative of art-music history since 1910 was written by a Swede rather than by a North American is certain to make it more palatable to those Chicano students. (Review in *Yearbook of Inter-American Musical Research*, Vol. X, 1974, c 1976.)

I am not certain who "those" Chicano students are, but Stevenson assumed a high degree of interest in art music which simply does not exist among the general Mexican population, much less among Chicanos in this country. He also assumes a rather extreme ethnocentrism on the part of Chicano teachers and their students which I have rarely found to be true.

Chicano teachers and their students may well be more interested in Claes af Geijerstam's *Popular Music in Mexico*, as the subject deals with music more relevant to the Chicano musical experience and, being published in this country, the book is more readily available (and, by extension, should receive wider exposure).

Where Malmström was able to research his relatively brief art music survey by spending a summer interviewing composers and taking recordings, tapes, books, and scores back to Sweden where his dissertation was written, this approach simply did not work in the case of *Popular Music in Mexico*.

The problems with Geijerstam's book are numerous. What could have been a lifetime study was condensed into the summer of 1971. Could a study of American popular music be researched in one summer--or even one year? As Geijerstam notes in his preface, "I would liken this book to an aerial photograph, taken from above the great expanse of Mexican popular music. Seen from the air, the millions of details merge into a pattern of colors and shapes. My main purpose was not to capture the individual details. I was attracted to the pattern itself, the interplay of lines." How such an "aerial photograph" can be justified as a doctoral dissertation escapes me.

Geijerstam relies on two informants, Carmen Sordo Sodi, director of the Seccion de Investigaciones Musicales and Juan S. Garrido, a Chilean by birth, a composer, orchestra leader, radio station director, etc. Both are knowledgeable and widely respected, but a dissertation on popular music largely based on information supplied by two informants? When Mark Fogelquist reviewed the book for *Ethnomusicology* (XXI, No. 2, May 1977), he noted that Sordo Sodi and Garrido are cited more than two hundred times in the footnotes and text (I didn't have the stamina to count). Geijerstam

does list ten other prominent individuals with whom he had brief interviews--all knowledgeable authorities--but the list of people he left out, ignored, or whose significance escaped him places Geijerstam, in my opinion, in an embarrassing position.

The author wastes no time getting in over his head. In his introduction he attempts to define Tribal and Ethnic Music and Folk Music with little more than a superficial understanding of how these terms apply to greater Mexico, for example, when he uses the term "authentic" folk music quoting the Veracruz *son* "Tilingo lingo" which is really a composed piece by Lino Carillo. Essentially what is missing initially is a thorough understanding and an overview of the various regional styles of Mexico and how and why (politically, culturally, and musically) certain styles have had substantial impact and influence on the development of Mexican popular music and why other styles have not.

In his first chapter, "The Development of Mexican Genres," Geijerstam touches so lightly on "Indian Roots of Mexican Folk Music," "African Influences on Mexican Folk Music," "Spanish and Central European Roots of Mexican Folk Music," that it becomes obvious that his information comes from relatively brief interviews in Mexico City and not from any rural identification or understanding. As a case in point, in discussing the *son* (the song dance form that is one of Mexico's most distinctive contributions), Geijerstam makes the following observation: "Colloquially it is often used to denote simply an instrumental folk tune, regardless of musical style...*Sones*...display a rather uniform style regardless of the area in which they originate." To say simply an instrumental folk tune ignores the concept of *contra-tiempo* (interchange and alternation of rhythms) and the pronounced difference between rhythmic and melodic concepts (supported by differences in cultural attitude and development and instrumental usage). But, here again, you have to get out of the city and listen to the people make their music to begin to appreciate and understand regional differences.

The errors and half-truths continue throughout the book. How, for example, can a Jarocho *conjunto* (musical group) generally consisting of diatonic harp, *requinto* (small five-string melody guitar), and *jarana* (small six-string rhythm guitar) be called a "band"? Would the author call a string quartet a band?

The author states "The *jarabe* is a choreographic genre consisting of a series of dances. The melodies vary according to local tradition, but a core group of tunes seems to be standard throughout the country." Nonsense. Core groups of melodies associated with given dance patterns have evolved and become standardized within particular regions which in turn have been performed throughout the country, but that is an entirely different matter.

Mark Fogelquist, himself a *mariachi* musician as well as a scholar, in writing his review in *Ethnomusicology*, must have had a series of heart attacks over the section devoted to the *mariachi*. Fogelquist quotes the following paragraph from Geijerstam's book:

During the last few decades, *sones* have been incorporated into the repertoire of trumpet *mariachis*. For studio recordings, the bands are generally enlarged with entire string sections and instruments alien to the traditional *sones*, such as saxophone and marimba.

Fogelquist correctly observes: "The fact is that *sones* have been the most important component of the *mariachi* repertoire since the late eighteenth century (even before the term "*mariachi*" was applied to the ensemble) and a survey by this reviewer of more than two hundred *sones* commercially recorded by 'trumpet' *mariachis*, failed to turn up a single example with saxophone or marimba." Beyond that example of inaccuracy, Geijerstam never grasped the roots of the *mariachi* as a regional string ensemble, its development, and its significance with the addition of the trumpets in the 1920s as the real heart of Mexican popular music. But then, what can you expect in one summer?

After attempting to discuss the "Mariachi, Norteno, and Marimba Ensembles" in chapter two, "The Corrido" and "The Cancion" in chapters three and four, and "Modern Dance Rhythms" in chapter five, the author is on more solid ground in the concluding four chapters, "Popular Music Before and After the Evolution," "Composers and Musicians Up to the 1940s," "The Media," and "Contemporary Trends." These chapters are worth reading and do contribute considerable valuable information but they could be more effective if more accurate ground work had been done and the reader more properly prepared.

An appendix, "Border Music of the 1970's in the Southwestern United States" was contributed by Elizabeth H. Heist. Ms. Heist is unknown to me, although from the emphasis of her chapter, I gather she is from Texas (a strong Texas bias is not unknown among Texans). Although no historical perspective is given, on the whole the chapter does make a welcome contribution. Unfortunately, Ms. Heist has not had the opportunity to learn of musical developments in Arizona, New Mexico, and California (the farm worker movement is one very significant example) and of the growing regional awareness among midwesterners. Salsa, a New York outgrowth of Puerto Rican, Cuban and other influences is beginning to attract some attention and have some influence on the west coast but the resistance is still fairly substantial. If such a chapter is to be included, it does need to have a broader perspective, particularly if the reader is new to the field.

---Philip Sonnichsen
Los Angeles, California

RECORD REVIEWS

Flatt and Scruggs, *THE GOLDEN ERA* (Rounder Special Series 005). 12 bluegrass selections originally recorded for Columbia, 1950-55. Titles: *Flint Hill Special, Your Love is Like a Flower, I'm Waiting to Hear You Call Me Darling, Head Over Heels in Love With You, I'm Working on a Road, Till the End of the World Rolls Round, I'm Gonna Sleep with One Eye Open, Dim Lights, Thick Smoke, Don't This Road Look Rough and Rocky, Randy Lynn Rag, The Old Home Town, Brother I'm Getting Ready To Go.*

Flatt and Scruggs, *THE GOLDEN YEARS* (County Records P-13810). 14 bluegrass selections originally recorded on Columbia, 1950-55. Titles: *Dear Old Dixie, Somehow Tonight, Over the Hills to the Poorhouse, I'm Head Over Heels in Love With You, I'm Lonesome and Blue, I'll Stay Around, He Took Your Place, If I Should Wander Back Tonight, Dim Lights Thick Smoke, Earl's Breakdown, That Old Book of Mine, I'd Rather Be Alone, I've Lost You, The Old Fashioned Preacher.*

During their first five years on Columbia, Flatt and Scruggs recorded some classic versions of songs that are now bluegrass standards. Unfortunately, the albums on which these recordings appeared (if they appeared on albums at all) are long out of print, leaving only their later (and inferior) Columbia recordings available. With the help of Columbia Records, County Records and Rounder Records have each released reissue albums of this early material, making 24 of these performances available again.

Only two songs are duplicated on both albums, and each has a lot to offer. Earl Scruggs' banjo playing is excellent throughout the period, on backup work as well as familiar showpieces like "Flint Hill Special," "Earl's Breakdown," and the lesser-known "Dear Old Dixie." Both albums contain recordings from throughout the five year period, when a number of fiddlers worked with the band: Benny Sims, Chubby Wise, Howdy Forrester, Benny Martin, and Paul Warren. There are some interesting songs as well; the Rounder Lp contains "I'm Gonna Sleep With One Eye Open," a song originally banned from WSM after its release in 1955, and the County album has "That Old Book of Mine," a song by Curly Sechler which went unreleased for many years. The notes suggest that part of Benny Martin's fiddle break was a little too "wild," but it sounds rather tame when compared to the playing of fiddlers like the late Scotty Stoneman.

While these recordings constitute outstanding examples of hard-driving traditional bluegrass, there are hints of the changes that took place during the band's later years with Columbia. Lester Flatt begins to sing in lower keys, a snare drum is included on a few cuts, and "Randy Lynn Rag" introduces Buck Graves on the dobro. Both albums cover the range of material recorded by Flatt and Scruggs during this period, and both are equal in terms of sound quality. The notes are good on each, but Neil Rosenberg's notes to the Rounder album are a little more detailed; the Rounder album also lists the personnel on each selection. However, both albums are equal (and equally good) in terms of the quality and diversity of the music, and both are excellent representations of Flatt and Scruggs' early work on Columbia.

---Bill Healy
Folklore and Mythology Center
UCLA

TERRY FELL/BIG BILL LISTER (Country Classics Library 1102). Reissue of 8 titles by each artist (from early 1960s?): *Truck Drivin' Man, Play the Music Louder, Caveman, Get Aboard My Wagon, That's the Way the Big Ball Bounces, What Am I Worth, That's What I Like, I Nearly Go Crazy, In the Shadows of the Pine, R C Cola and Moon Pie, Beer Drinking Blues, Blowing the Suds Off My Beer, All I Want to Hear You Say is You Love Me, Ship of Love, There's Another in Your Heart, What the Heck is Goin' On.*

SKEETS McDONALD (CCL 1103). Reissue of 16 titles from late 1950s/early '60s: *I Love You Mama Mia, Remember You're Mine, It'll Take a Long Long Time, Somebody, You Gotta Be My Baby, You Better Not Go, I Got a New Field to Plow, Fingertips, Hawaiian Sea Breeze, Be My Life's Companion, Please*

Come Back, Curtain of Tears, Bless Your Little Ol' Heart, I've Got to Win Your Love Again, Let Me Know, Baby I'm Countin'.

ROCKIN' ROLLIN JANIS (CCL 1106). Reissue of 16 titles by Janis Martin originally recorded 1956-57: *Love and Kisses, Drugstore Rock and Roll, Hard Times Ahead, Here Today and Gone Tomorrow, Will You Willyum, Let's Elope Baby, Caught Caught Ring-a-Leevio, The Memory of You, Teen Street, Cry Guitar, Love Me to Pieces, Two Long Years, I Don't Hurt Anymore, Half Loved, Just Squeeze Me, My Confession.*

ROCKIN' ROLLIN' GIBSON (CCL 1107). Reissue of 16 titles by Dob Gibson originally recorded ca 1958-61: *Sittin' Here Cryin', Sweet Sweet Girl, If You Don't Know It, Who Cares, Don't Tell Me Your Troubles, The Same Old Trouble, What About Me, I'm Movin' On, Look Who's Blue, Lonesome Old House, Bad Bad Day, Far Far Away, Didn't Work Out Did It, Even Though, Wontcha Come Back, Big Hearted Me.*

DAVID RICH (CCL 1108). Reissue of 20 titles recorded 1953-66: *Strings of a Broken Heart, Why Oh Why Do You Cry, Ain't It fine, Your Pretty Blue Eyes, I'm Glad, Lonely Street, Didn't Work Out Did It?, The Key to My Heart, Tuggin on My Heart Strings, Chicken House, Sunshine in Your Heart, I Love 'Em All, Red Sweater, I've Learned, Rosie Let's Get Cozy, I've Thought It Over, School Blues, Burn on Love Fire, City Lights, Hang On 'Til the Goin' On Comes On.*

ROCKIN' ROLLIN' BOB LUMAN, Vol. 1. (CCL 1109). Reissue of 15 titles originally recorded 1957-62: *Precious, Svengali, I Know My Baby Cares, Your Love, Whenever You're Ready, Rocks of Reno, Red Cadillac and a Black Moustache, Make Up Your Mind Baby, Try Me, All Night Long, Red Hot, You've Turned the Lights Down, I Love You So Much It Hurts, Meet Mr. Mud, The Fool.*

THE ROCKIN' STYLES OF JOHN D. (JOHNNY DEE) LOUDERMILK, Vol. 1 (CCL 1111). Reissue of 20 titles from late 1950s/early '60s: *Sittin' in the Balcony, It's Gotta Be You, Somebody Sweet, They Were Right, A-Plus In Love, In My Simple Way, That's All I've Got, Asiatic Flue, 1000 Concrete Blocks, Teenage Queen, The Red Headed Stranger, This Cold War With You, Yo-Yo, Lover's Lane, Yearbook, The Midnight Bus, Goin' Away to School, The Happy Wanderer, Susie's House, Tobacco Road.*

ROCKIN' ROLLIN' ROBBINS (CCL 1129). 21 titles by Marty Robbins, originally recorded in late 1950s: *That's All Right, Maybelline, Pretty Mama, Mean Mama Blues, Tennessee Toddy, Long Tall Sally, Long Gone Lonesome Blues, You Don't Owe Me a Thing, Respectfully Miss Brooks, Last Night About This Time, Just Married, Stairway of Love, Cap and Gown, Once a Week Date, Teenage Dream, Please Don't Blame Me, Grown Up Tears, Mister Teardrop, Ruby Ann, Teenager's Dad, No Signs of Loneliness Here.*

ROCKIN' ROLLIN' HORTON (CCL 1140). 16 selections by Johnny Horton, originally recorded 1956-1964: *The Electrified Donkey, Sal's Got a Sugarlip, Tell My Baby, Lover's Rock, The Same Old Tale the Crow Told Me, Rock Island Line, I'm Ready If You're Willing (2 versions), Sugar Coated Baby, I Don't Like I Did, The Battle of New Orleans, Let's Take the Long Walk Home, Hooray for That Little Difference, They Shined Up Rudolph's Nose, The Mansion You Stole.*

This itemization of nine albums samples a series of some thirty or forty that have been re-leased in the past few years on West German labels (Country Classics Library seems to be a successor to Folk Variety and/or CMH) that reissue material from the period of 1955-65 when country and rock & roll music married to produce the rockabilly era. Some of the artists, such as Marty Robbins, Don Gibson, Johnny Horton, and Johnny & Jack, are still active or at least well-remembered in the country music field. Others, such as Dave Rich or Janis Martin, will probably not be familiar to c&w fans. In most cases, these are artists who made both pop and country charts during the decade under consideration: Robbins, for example, had 22 songs on *Billboard's* Pop charts between 1956 and 1963 and 26 on the c&w charts in the same period. Gibson had 14 or 15 on each set of charts in 1958-61.

Of course, not all the above selections fit the rockabilly category. Skeets McDonald, in particular, recorded a number of pieces in the Hank Williams style, with two or three fiddles and lots of fiddle breaks, steel guitar, drums, bass, electric guitar, and chorus. Five of his songs made the c&w charts ("Don't Let the Stars Get in Your Eyes" was his biggest hit), but none of these is included on CCL 1103. Luman's style varies from almost basic rock & roll to a very Marty Robbins-like c&w/Mexican sound. None of the songs on CCL 1109 is among his 20 chart hits, though one on Vol. 3 (CCL 1126) and four on Vol. 4 (CCL 1127) are. The Gibson material is classic rockabilly, with six of the titles from his c&w chart hits and six from his pop hits (four are common to both sets of charts).

The Marty Robbins album samples his repertoire when he too was trying to cross over into the more lucrative pop field, but bypasses his really big hits ("A White Sport Coat," "El Paso," "Don't Worry") for some less successful but nevertheless interesting renditions of an Arthur Crudup/Elvis Presley hit ("That's All Right"), compositions by Chuck Berry and Little Richard ("Maybelline" and "Long Tall Sally," respectively), and an old hillbilly standard ("Respectfully Miss Brooks" = "Nellie Dare & Charlie Brooks").

The Horton album includes two 1959 hits written (based on traditional material) by Jimmie Driftwood, "Sal's Got a Sugarlip" and "Battle of New Orleans." "The Same Old Tale the Crow Told Me," credited to Bill Carlisle, is at least as old as a 1930 recording by the Carolina Buddies. "Rock Island Line" probably comes directly from Lonnie Donegan's 1956 hit, rather than the Leadbelly original.

For the most part, these albums are prepared with little documentation for the listener. Most contain no more than a list of titles. There are a few exceptions: the Horton LP includes composer credits, recording dates, master numbers and playing times; the Janis Martin album includes a few paragraphs of biographical notes, master and release numbers; the Rich album has a short biographical sketch. Other artists in the series include Marvin Rainwater (Rockin' Rollin' Rainwater, Vol. 3--CCL 1115) and Tommy Collins (I Got Mine--CCL 1125). Earlier albums by some of the artists appeared on the CMH label. The audience for these albums is obviously not the academically oriented listener, nor the old-timey/bluegrass enthusiast. I would, in fact, be surprised if there is much of a market in this country for them, though I understand that there is a considerable demand for them in western Europe, where anything that smacks of rock & roll goes like the proverbial hotcakes.

THE LEGACY OF THE BLUES. A series of recordings by the great blues artists. (GNP/Crescendo 10011-10022; X10010). Produced and annotated by Sam Charters.

- Vol. 1: Bukka White (GNPS 10011); recorded in 1963 by Ed Denson and John Fahey and previously issued on Takoma LP 1001.
- Vol. 2: Snooks Eaglin (BNPS 10012); recorded in 1971 by Quint Davis.
- Vol. 3: Champion Jack Dupree (GNPS 10013); recorded in London by Sam Charters.
- Vol. 4: Mighty Joe Young (GNPS 10014); recorded in 1972 in Chicago by Sam Charters.
- Vol. 5: Juke Boy Bonner (GNPS 10015); recorded by Chris Strachwitz.
- Vol. 6: Big Joe Williams (GNPS 10016); recorded by Sam Charters.
- Vol. 7: Memphis Slim (GNPS 10017); produced by Clyde Otis.
- Vol. 8: J. D. Short (GNPS 10018); recorded in St. Louis in 1962 by Sam Charters.
- Vol. 9: Robert Pete Williams (GNPS 10019); recorded in Baton Rouge by Sam Charters.
- Vol. 10: Eddie Boyd (GNPS 10020); produced/recorded by Sam Charters in Europe.
- Vol. 11: Sunnyland Slim (GNPS 10021); produced by Sam Charters.
- Vol. 12: Lightnin' Hopkins (GNPS 10022); produced/recorded in Houston by Sam Charters.
- Sampler: One selection from each of the above LPs (GNPS X10010).

Blues historian/writer Sam Charters has produced these dozen volumes of blues artists as a companion series to a forthcoming book, "The Legacy of the Blues," according to the liner notes on the sampler volume. Perhaps, then it would be fairest to review the albums and the book together. With just the albums at hand, it is hard to see any logic to the choice of these particular artists. The annotations give little discographic data (all that could be gleaned are indicated above), and also little information on the music itself; instead Charters offers general background on the performers, embellished by familiar comments on how the rest of the world has changed while the world of the bluesman goes on as it has been. The recordings themselves are commendable; these are, after all, excellent bluesmen, and the technical quality of the recordings leaves little to be desired. All of the artists have been heard previously on LP. The styles range from the older ones of Bukka White, J. D. Short, and Robert Pete Williams, to the more urban blues sounds of Eddie Boyd, Memphis Slim, and Jack Dupree. Snooks Eaglin again proves himself to be considerably more than just a bluesman, with selections ranging from a guitar version of Pine Top's Boogie Woogie to his "Funky Malaguena."

-- N. C.

INDEX TO VOLUME 13

ABSTRACTS OF ACADEMIC DISSERTATIONS	99, 195
ANNOUNCEMENTS	16, 160
BIBLIOGRAPHIC ARTICLES	
A Bibliography of Fiddling in North America, by Michael Mendelson, Part 6	88
BIBLIOGRAPHIC NOTES	44, 101, 155
BIOGRAPHICAL ARTICLES	
New Light on the Early Opry: Dr. Bates's Letters, by Charles K. Wolfe	1
Stranger Through Your Town: The Backgrounds and Early Life of Jimmie Rodgers, by Nolan Porterfield	4
Ray Whitley's Tribute to Frank Luther, by Gerald F. Vaughn	17
They Like to Sing the Old Songs: An Introduction to the A. L. Phipps Family and Their Music, by David L. Taylor	29
The Hit Writer That Nashville Forgot (But Not the Rest of Us)--Elsie McWilliams, by Johnny Bond	67
Tex Ritter in the Twilight Years, by Texas Jim Cooper	79
"She Kept On A-Goin": Ethel Park Richardson, by Jon G. Smith	105
Montana Slim: Canada's Legendary Wilf Carter, by Jay Taylor	118
Karol Stoch and Recorded Polish Folk Music from the Podhale Region, by Richard K. Spottswood	196
BOOK REVIEWS	
<i>Country Roots: The Origins of Country Music</i> , by Douglas B. Green (Reviewed by Paul F. Wells)	39
<i>Brothers of Light, Brothers of Blood: The Penitentes of the Southwest</i> , by Marta Weigle (Philip Sonnichsen)	39
<i>Folk Music: More Than a Song</i> , by K. Baggelaar and D. Milton (Norm Cohen)	42
<i>Blacking Up: The Minstrel Show in Nineteenth-Century America</i> , by Robert Toll (Norm Cohen)	42
<i>Just Country: Country People, Stories, Music</i> , by Robert Cornfield (Bill Healy)	43
<i>Jim and Jesse: A Review Essay on Fan Historiography</i> , by Scott Hamblly	96
<i>The Tex Ritter Story</i> , by Johnny Bond (Norm Cohen)	100
<i>Working Women's Music</i> , by Evelyn Alloy (Norm Cohen)	100
<i>Coal Miner's Daughter</i> , by Loretta Lynn (Sally F. O'Connor)	149
<i>Stars of Country Music</i> , ed. by B. C. Malone and J. McCulloh (Wm. Henry Koon)	151
<i>West Virginia Songbag</i> , ed. by Jim Comstock (Norm Cohen)	154
<i>Studies in Scandinavian-American Discography, I</i> , by Pekka Gronow (Norm Cohen)	154
<i>Gramophone Records of the First World War: An HMV Catalog, 1914-18</i> (Norm Cohen)	155
<i>Pissing in the Snow and Other Ozark Folktales</i> , by Vance Randolph (Norm Cohen)	155
<i>Introduction to Twentieth Century Mexican Music</i> , by Dan Malmstrom (Philip Sonnichsen)	214
<i>Popular Music in Mexico</i> , by Claes af Geijerstam (Philip Sonnichsen)	214
COMMERCIAL MUSIC GRAPHICS, by Archie Green	
#40: Bradley Kincaid's Folios	21
#41: Brunswick's Folksong Discs, 1928	73
#42: Visual Footnotes to Black Culture and Black Consciousness	127
#43: Miguel Covarrubias' Jazz and Blues Musicians	183
DISCOGRAPHIC DATA	
A Preliminary Vernon Dalhart Discography, Part XXI: British Recordings	16
Discography of Frank Luther Trio with Ray Whitley	20
The Australian Regal and Regal Zonophone Series Numerical (1927-1958), Pts. 1 and 2, by David Crisp and Hedley Charles	141, 168
Cylinder and Manuscript: North Carolina Folksongs in the Robert W. Gordon Collection, by Susan J. Grodsky	205
FILM REVIEW: Bound for Glory, by Mike Hall	147
GENERAL ARTICLES	
Folk and Hillbilly Music: Further Thoughts on Their Relation, by Anne and Norm Cohen	50
Spatial Diffusion of the All-Country Music Radio Stations in the United States, 1971-74, by George O. Carney	58
The Jake Walk Blues: A Toxicologic Tragedy Mirrored in American Popular Music, by John P. Morgan and Thomas C. Tullross (Reprint)	122
Country Music Culture in Central New York State, by Simon J. Bronner	171
LETTERS	49, 126, 167
RECORD REVIEWS	45, 102, 157, 217
SONG STUDIES	
The Carter Family's "Waves on the Sea"--Child 289?, by Bill Ellis	138
WORK IN PROGRESS	104

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JEMF QUARTERLY

Vol. 13

Number 48

CONTENTS

The John Edwards Memorial Foundation as a Raw Data Resource for the Study of Women in Country Music, by Frances M. Farrell	161
Letters	167
The Australian Regal and Regal Zonophone Series Numerical (1927-1958), Part II, by David Crisp and Hedley Charles	168
Country Music Culture in Central New York State, by Simon J. Bronner	171
Graphics #43: Miguel Covarrubias' Jazz and Blues Musicians, by Archie Green	183
Abstracts of Academic Disserations: <i>The Western Image in Country Music</i> , by Stephen Ray Tucker	195
Karol Stoch and Recorded Polish Folk Music from the Podhale Region, by Richard K. Spottswood	196
Cylinder and Manuscript: North Carolina Folksongs in the Robert W. Gordon Collection, by Susan J. Grodsky	205
Book Reviews: <i>Introduction to Twentieth Century Mexican Music</i> , by Dan Malmstrom; and <i>Popular Music in Mexico</i> , by Claes af Geijerstam (reviewed by Philip Sonnichsen)	214
Record Reviews	217
Annual Index to <i>JEMFQ</i> , Vol. 13	220

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